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A S H O R T
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O F T H E
English History :
W I T H
R E F L E C T I O N S

Political, Historical, Civil, Physical, and
Moral; on the Reigns of the Kings; their
Characters, and Manners; their Successions
to the Throne, and all other remarkable In-
cidents to the

R E V O L U T I O N 1688.

Drawn from authentick MEMOIRS *and*
M A N U S C R I P T S.

The S E C O N D E D I T I O N, *with Additions.*

By B. H I G G O N S, of the *Middle-*
Temple, Esq;

Discite Justitiam Moniti.—V I R G.

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W I E V

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THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF LONDON
FROM THE FOUNDATION
TO THE PRESENT
BY JOHN STOW
1618



THE PREFACE.



I has been a received Maxim in all Ages, and Countries, not to write the HISTORY of one's own Times, Truth, too bright and dazzling, like the Sun, can only be safely look'd on through the Distance and Mist of Time, when the Rays are rebated proportionably to the Weakness of Mens Sight, and the Passions grown cooler make them more unconcern'd, and less partial Judges even of Matter of Fact ; for this Reason, the Author has let these Papers lie cover'd with Dust these 36 Years, till every Person concern'd in the Transactions mention'd was remov'd from the Stage ; Decency and good Manners to the Living, seem to exact this Conduct, but the Proverb, In mortuos

B

nil

The P R E F A C E.

nil nisi bonum, only regards civil and private Life, and is not to be followed in publick Affairs, where Posterity are to be instructed, and acquainted with Truth, which surely may be spoken of the Dead, without giving Offence to the Living, or else there is an End of History : The Author has been so very tender in this Point as to avoid, wherever he cou'd, the mention of Names, leaving that to Annalists, and Compilers of Chronicles, who are obliged to the last Exactness ; nor has he taken less Care in these Reflections to fling the Faults of the Leaders in general Terms, without Names, on the whole Party who shared the Guilt, and fought under their Banners, that the Number of Shoulders might make the Weight of Reproach the lighter ; for no wise Man will pick himself out in a Croud, unless he is so particularly pointed at, as not to be mistaken : If these Papers are receiv'd with the same Candour and Impartiality they were written, the Reader, it is hop'd, will be entertain'd, and the Author sufficiently requited for the Pains he has taken.

November 25, 1724.

A S H O R T



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A SHORT



A
SHORT VIEW
OF THE
ENGLISH HISTORY.



SECTION I.



England and Scotland, joined together, make without dispute, tho' not for Extent, in all other respects, the most considerable Island in the Universe : As in Winter the warm Vapours from the neighbouring Seas permit not the Snows to lie long unmelted ; so in the Summer the constant Breezes and frequent

frequent Rains, by rebating the violent Heat of the Sun, always preserve a Verdure unknown to the more Southern Climates in the one Season, and the more Northern in the other : So that the Isle of *Great Britain* lying towards the End of the temperate Zone, from 50 Degrees to almost 60, owes the Mildness of her Air to the Accident of Situation, being on all Sides surrounded by most bountiful Seas, which, not content to defend her from external Dangers by Invasions, add to the Happiness of this Security, not only the Conveniences, but the Pleasures and Luxuries of Life.

As this Situation renders us secure from the Insults of others, so it cuts off our Hopes of ever extending our Empire abroad, by reducing us to such Circumstances as King *James* the first said of himself in unweildy Armour, *That he could hurt Nobody, and Nobody could hurt him.* To this Security from Abroad, and great Plenty of all Things at Home, are owing in a great measure our frequent Dissensions and Civil Wars, an Account of which will be the chief Subject of this Treatise : But before we enter into that Detail, it will be necessary to make a short Inquiry after our Original, and see from whence we came.

IN this Discussion I shall leave the Etymology of the Word *Britain* to the Decision of learned Antiquaries, among whom the excellent *Cambden* seems to carry the greatest Weight and Authority, who rejects the fabulous and absurd Supposition of a *Trojan* Prince called *Brutus*, whom some Writers have reported to be the first who planted this Island with People : This improbable Story was first invented by the lazy Monks in the dark Age, when the Ignorance of Mankind made them capable of believing any Absurdity, that was imposed on them by these Drones, who seem'd to have nothing else to do, but to deceive the World : Nor has this foolish Vanity of deriving a Pedigree from the *Trojans* been peculiar to the People of this Island, for other Nations have had their Share of this Folly. But to return to our Argument, the most probable Conjecture is, laying aside the forc'd Etymologies from the *Greek*, that the first Inhabitants were so called from the Word *Brith*, which in the *British* Language signifies Painted : Now, it being notorious that the first known Inhabitants had a Custom of painting their Bodies, both to defend them from the Cold, and make them appear more terrible to their Enemies, it is highly probable that the *Greeks*, from this *Brith*, coined their BRETA-

NIA, which Name they transmitted to the *Romans*, who were not acquainted with this Island till some Ages after the *Greeks*.

BUT leaving these Uncertainties, the Names of Nations being as dark and un-retrievable as their Originals, we find the first Account to be rely'd on, in the Commentaries of *Julius Cæsar*, an Author of un-exceptionable Credit, to whose Relation of his Expedition into *Kent* I refer the Reader, and shall only infer from him, that the ancient *Britons* were very savage and uncivilized, Necessity not having yet instructed them to defend their Bodies by the Invention of Cloaths, nor so much as to build Houses against the Inclemency of Heaven in Winter; *Cæsar* informing us, that their Towns were only Trees cut down, and intrench'd about, to secure them from Surprizes by any sudden Incurfion of their Enemies.

THAT the ancient *Britons* were descended from the *Gauls* is hardly to be disputed; of this Assertion, the Resemblance of Language, Manners, Customs, and Religions, is an irrefragable Argument; besides, the Situation of *Britain* being nearer to *France* than any other Part of the Continent, it is highly probable that at first Mankind, when so very raw in the Art of Navigation, ventured upon the shortest

shortest Traject, when they trusted themselves on an Element, with which they were so little acquainted; not to mention that groundless Supposition, that this Island was annex'd to the Continent of *Gaul* by a neck of Land between *Dover* and *Boleyn*, but broke asunder by the Violence of the Sea, as 'tis reported *Sicily* was from *Italy*. If this Conjecture should be true, it is most probable that these Changes happen'd in the great Deluge, when in that universal Concussion of all Things Nature was disjointed, so that the Face of the Earth, which we now see, seems but the Ruins of the antediluvian World, according to the Opinion of a late learned Author, who has writ upon this Subject.

As this Vicinity to *Gaul* confirms the Probability of the *Britons* Extraction from that People, so the Easiness of the Passage all-along preserv'd the Correspondence between the two Nations; the *Gauls*, sending their Children to be instructed in the Precepts of Religion by the *British* Druids, became so well acquainted with the *Britons*, that they were the first People who were able to give the *Romans* an Account of this Island; upon which Information *Julius Cæsar*, fired with the Hopes of conquering a new World, first form'd the Design of an Expedition against the *Britons*, whom

he found to differ very little from the neighbouring *Gauls*, but in the Roughness of their Manners: This Inhospitality and Aversion to Strangers, which *Horace* denotes in the People of this Island seventeen hundred Years ago, *Visam Britannos hospitibus feros*, seem to remain in the Natures of the common People, not civilized by a good Education, at this very Day, notwithstanding they are a different Race. This Consideration has made me often reflect, whether or no there is not some occult Quality in the Air of every particular Country, which may dispose the respective Inhabitants to such and such a Genius, and Temper; it is very probable the modern *Italians*, notwithstanding they have very little of the ancient Blood in their Veins, by reason of their Mixture with the *Goths* and *Vandals*, nevertheless by living in the same Climate, approach nearer to the Nature and Temper of the old Inhabitants, than any other People whatsoever: The *French* at this Day, tho' a different Race of People, seem to resemble very much the ancient *Gauls*, in a great many Qualities; and the *Saxons*, by coming into this Country, seem to have added to their own natural Fierceness the Inhospitality of the old *Britons*.

THE Government both among *Gauls* and *Britons* resembled very much, these Nations

Nations being broke into petty Kindoms under their feveral Royolets; a Polity the most natural to Mankind, in which the wisest, the bravest and the strongest, being elevated by these natural Advantages above the rest, challenged the Pre-eminence of conducting the People in Time of War, and governing them in Peace; this was the Civil OEconomy, into which Mankind fell of course, when they found the absolute Necessity of having some Sort of Government, to avoid the Inconveniences in a State of Nature: We find this very Form in *America*, and other Parts of the World at this very Day, where Mankind are only guided by the Light of Nature; but in more civiliz'd Countries, where Men have given up part of their Natural Liberty by entering into Compacts, they are obliged to pay the Obedience they promised to such particular Persons and Families.

UNDER the auspicious Conduct of these, rather Captains of Tribes than Princes, did this warlike People bravely defend their Liberties against the best disciplin'd Troops in the World, under the Command of the greatest Man alive; who seems rather to have discovered, than to have conquered *Britain*, which was not reduced into a *Roman* Province, till a considerable Time afterwards, in the Reign of *Claudius Cæsar*:
But

But the *Britons* did not easily resign their Liberties, without a vigorous Effort and Struggle to preserve them ; witness, the many Overthrows they gave to the *Roman* Legions, especially under the auspicious Conduct of their invincible Amazon *Boadicea*, who, by the repeated Victories she snatch'd from the Conqueror, almost extinguish'd the *Roman* Name in this Island ; till at last, by a Reverse of Fortune, being reduced to great Extremity in a Siege, and one of her Daughters ravish'd, she could no longer bear the lost Honour of her House, and Slavery of her Country, but by a manly Resolution with her own Hands put an End to her glorious Life not more like a *Roman* than a *Briton*.

ABOUT 500 Years was *Britain* under the Power of the *Romans*, till the Empire being invaded on all Sides by Deluges of barbarous Nations, the Garrisons planted in the Northern Parts to assist the *Britons* against the *Picts*, a most warlike and cruel People, were recall'd to defend the Empire ; upon which the poor *Britons*, left destitute of Succours, and unable to resist the Fury and Numbers of the Enemy, were at last forced to call in the *Saxons*, a People of *Germany*, to their Aid ; an Expedient equally as dangerous as blowing up a Ship to preserve her from being taken, the

the Truth of which will be demonstrated in the Sequel of this Story.

THE perfidious *Saxons* had no sooner expell'd the *Picts*, but they cast a longing Eye on the Country they had defended ; at first they had a Corner of the Island given them as a Remuneration for their Assistance in expelling the *Picts* ; but not contented with the Portion assign'd, they resolved to have all or none ; and taking Advantage of the Weakness of *Vortigern* the then *British* King, who falling in Love with the Daughter of one of the *Saxon* Leaders, had married her, sent over into *Germany* for more Forces, which being arriv'd, gave them such Footing in the Country as never to be driven out afterward by all the Efforts of the *Britons*, notwithstanding the prodigious Courage of *Aurelius Ambrosius* and King *Arthur*, who left nothing unattempted to relieve their Country ; but though these two Heroes acquired great Victories, the Fate of their Country was too strong to be resisted ; the perfidious *Saxons* obtain'd by Treachery what they could not by open Force, for they inhumanly murder'd the *British* Nobility on *Salisbury* Plain at a Banquet, tho' met upon the publick Faith ; of which Treachery remain as monuments, to this Day, several Stones of vast Bigness, some
laid

laid a-crofs, and others fallen down by Length of Time, suppos'd to be erected on this Plain near the Place, where the *British* Nobility were buried after this cruel Assassination.

THESE Monuments are look'd upon by the ignorant common People thereabouts as the Effect of Magick, for which they have a Tradition, that they were convey'd to the Place where they now stand, by the Art of *Merlin*, a famous *British* Enchanter; that which seems to give Credit to this Belief of the People is, the vast Bulk of the Stones, which are too heavy to be brought far, by any Carriage known in that Age, which we must suppose very rude in Mechanics, there being no Quarries of Stone, whence they could be brought within a great Distance; besides, they tell you, that it is impossible to number these Stones; but this is certainly a Mistake; the Difficulty of the Numeration arising from the confus'd and irregular Order in which they lie, as my Lord *Bacon* observes in Opticks, *Pluralitas Partium, ubi Ordo abest, inducit Similitudinem infiniti, ac impedit comprehensionem*: So the Stars, by their confus'd Appearances, have made the ignorant of all Ages conclude them to be innumerable: But the Difficulty is to answer, how these vast Stones came thither; but this Question will

will fall to the Ground, if we submit to the Opinion of the Judicious, that these Stones are not natural, but artificial, and so consequently made upon the Place.

As for King *Arthur*, he was certainly a great Hero, but has had the Misfortune to have his true Actions so brew'd with the Fictions of the legendary Monks in those Times, that we, not knowing how to sever the Truth from the Romance, are apt to disbelieve every thing that seems in the least improbable; so that the great Actions of the Prince suffer in Story for being in ill Company.

AFTER the Decease of these two great Men, *Aurelius* and *Arthur*, the Affairs of the *Britons* declin'd daily; so that after several bloody Conflicts between the Christian *Britons*, and the Heathen *Saxons*, the former were forc'd to retreat from all the level and fruitful Parts of the Island, to the barren Rocks and Mountains of *Wales*, where they defended themselves for several Ages with wonderful Gallantry; so much is Liberty with all brave and generous Minds preferable to Riches: The *Saxons*, being thus Masters of the greatest and best Part of the Island, divided the Country among themselves according to the Custom of the *Gothick* Nations, every one having an Assignment in Land, proportionable to
the

the Share he had in the Enterprize: It has been a great Dispute among the Learned, out of what Part of *Germany* these *Saxons*, the Ancestors of the present *English*, came; there can nothing be certain concerning a barbarous People, who, having no Letters among them, till after their Conquest of *Britain*, they grew civilized by embracing the Christian Faith, could consequently have no Records of their Original; but 'tis the most probable Opinion, that they were not any particular Nation, but a general Collection of all the lower *Germany*, especially those who lived nearest the Sea, and so came acquainted with Maritime Affairs, by a long Exercise of Piracy: To these were join'd the *Jutes* and *Angles* from the *Cimbrick Chersoneuse*, now called *Jutland* and *Holstein*, from which last People the *Angles*, *Egbert* the first Monarch, who reduced the Heptarchy, commanded the Country to be called *England*, though the present *Welsh*, in the *British* Language, call the *English* *Saissions* to this very Day.

THE *Saxons* were some time employ'd in forming themselves into Governments, and dividing the new acquired Country into several little Kingdoms; when the Church of *Rome*, at that Time triumphant in the Success of her Missions, sent *Austin* the Monk into *England*, whose Preaching had
that

that powerful Influence as to convert *Ethelbert* King of *Kent* to the Christian Faith, and all his People, who in those Days were generally so civil as to be always of the Religion of their Prince; the rest of the *Saxon* Heptarchy soon followed the Example of *Kent*, and were converted. The fierce Temper of this Northern People being mollified and sweetened by the mild Spirit of Christianity, it is incredible with what Ardour and Devotion they fell to building Churches, and founding religious Houses, as if now, by an Excess of Piety, they would make Amends for the Pillage and Prophanation of Christian Altars during their Wars with the *Britons*; not in the least apprehending, that their Posterity would ravish away, and secularize those Portions, which their Devotion had appropriated to the Service of God.

BUT it was not long after they had embraced Christianity, before they began to degenerate from those Principles, which the first Impressions of that Religion had infused into them; they now wallow'd in all manner of Luxury and Debauchery, and in their mutual Dissensions fell into horrid Treasons, Murders, and Usurpations; which provok'd the Divine Vengeance to excite another Northern Nation, infamous for their Cruelty and Piracies, to chastise them
for

for their Impieties, and retaliate the Injuries and Cruelties which they had offered to the poor *Britons* in the Conquest of that People: These were the *Danes*, not only the Inhabitants of the present *Denmark*, but a collected Rabble of all the Northern Nations out of *Scandinavia* and *Norway*, from whence those terrible People the *Normanni* came, who in their Expeditions, contented only to pillage the Coasts of *England* in their Way, settled themselves at last in *Neustria*, which Name they changed into *Normandy*, having by the meer Terror of their Arms obtained that Country as free Gift from the King of *France*: Not long after, those who were left behind of this Rabble, comprehended under the Name of *Danes*, began to infest the Sea Coasts of *England*; first only in a Piratical Way, for after they had plunder'd, they return'd to their Ships; but finding the Goodness of the Soil, and Riches of the People, in respect of themselves, they at last entered into formal Designs of invading and conquering a Country so much better than their own.

THE *Danes* made their first Descent with a Design of Conquest in the Time of *Egbert*, about the Year 818, but were repulsed by the Courage and superiour Genius of that Prince, who had made himself sole Monarch of *England*, by a final Reduction
of

of the other six Kingdoms to the Obedience of the *West Saxon*.

HERE we shall begin to observe the Succession of the Crown, the Kings of *England* in this Prince beginning to be vested with greater Authority, and to have more the Air of Majesty. Whereas in the Heptarchy, the Narrowness of their Dominions made them seem rather little Governors, or Heads of Clans, than sovereign Princes: To *Egbert* succeeded his Son

ETHELWOLPH,

who left four Sons, successively one after another, by Right of Primogeniture, Kings of *England*,

ETHELBALD,

ETHELBERT,

ETHELRED,

ALFRED,

who proved a wise, virtuous, and great Prince: After *Alfred*, his Son

EDWARD, the Elder,

ATHELSTAN,

EDMOND:

This Prince dying while his Children were
C in

in their Minority, contrary to Custom, was succeeded by his Brother *Edred*, who, though he assum'd the Title of King, was only look'd upon as Guardian to his Nephews ; either the Title of Protector was not known or us'd at this Time, or perhaps they thought the Name and Character of King would give greater Weight, and imprint more Awe on his Authority among the People ; but this Prince dying soon after, was succeeded by his Nephew, which is Demonstration that the People of *England* did not confer the Title of King on him as his own Right, but in Trust for his Nephews, the eldest of which *Edwin* succeeded, notwithstanding *Edred* left Sons, who, conscious of no Right, laid no Claim to the Crown, through the immediate Children of the late King ; so falsely is this Case urged among other Precedents in the *English* Story, to justify the Elective Power of the People. *Edwin* proving a vicious and unworthy Prince, made his Reign both turbulent and short ; but his Defects were amply recompensed by the Virtues of his Brother *Edgar*, who proved a very great Prince, and would have been more illustrious if he had not stain'd the Reputation of his other great Qualities, by indulging too much his Libertinism ; *Edgar* dying, left his Kingdom to his Son *Edward*, who was murdered

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ed by the Artifices of his ambitious Stepmother Queen *Elfride*, to make way for her own Son *Ethelred* to mount the Throne; this Prince tho' innocent himself expiated the horrid Parricide committed by his Mother, his whole Reign being nothing but a constant Series of Blood and Calamities.

THE *Danes*, who by Intervals only had afflicted the Kingdom before, now seem'd armed with the Vengeance of Heaven to punish the Race of Queen *Elfride*; various were the Events of this War, many bloody Battles won and lost between these two fierce Nations; the one fighting to maintain the Country they had gotten not many Ages before by the same Violence, the other to mend their Fortunes by settling themselves in a more benign and auspicious Climate; at last the Fortune of the *Dane* prevailed so far, as to put him in Possession of the Kingdom; after the Settlement of which, *Suene*, returning to *Denmark* to look after his Affairs at home, gave an Opportunity to King *Ethelred* to extirpate his Enemies, and free his Country for a Time; this was the famous Massacre of the *Danes*, which happened in the Reign of this King, and by his Orders, 1002.

THERE is nothing in Story more true, and yet more incredible, than this one Action; that a Conspiracy so widely laid, and

communicated to the whole *English* Nation, a People not celebrated for the Art of Secrecy, should not be discover'd by some one Person, before the Time of Execution : This shews the Incompatibility of the two People ; when we consider that no Ties of Blood, for they had intermarried, no Endearments between Man and Wife, nor the mutual Pledges of Children, which usually bind the Affections of Parents, could deter even the more tender Sex (for by their Hands was the cruel Blow given) from so horrid a Massacre.

To this barbarous Action the *English* Women, as it is credibly reported, owe those Privileges which they have acquir'd above those of their Sex in other Countries ; but it seems so far from an Honour, as some have thought it, that on the other hand, it is an indelible Reproach to that Tendernefs which should be the distinguishing Character of the Sex, whose only Business is to propagate Mankind, and nourish them with their Milk.

It is no Wonder at all, that any conquered People, whenever they see an Opportunity, should endeavour to shake off the Yoke, and break their Chains, by the Destruction of their Masters ; it has been done in all Ages and Countries, and will
again,

again, whenever a People oppress'd can assert their Liberties : But this Slaughter of the *Danes* has somewhat particular in it to raise our Horror : When we consider the Circumstances, What an Idea must we form of Wives cutting the Throats of their Husbands, who could think themselves no where so safe as in their Arms ? But what adds more to the Strangeness of this Story is, the Universality of the Action ; it being affirm'd, that there was a *Danish* Soldier quarter'd on every House in *England*, every one of whom without Exception, at the same Time and by the same Hands, underwent the Fate of his Countrymen.

THIS happen'd upon St. *Brice's* Eve, which Day is still celebrated by the Northern *English* in Commemoration of this infamous Action, the Women beating brass Instruments in the Streets, and singing old Rhimes in Praise of their cruel Ancestors. Upon this Occasion happen'd an Accident, not unpleasant, since the late Revolution : Several *Danish* Regiments taken into the *English* Service to be employ'd in the Reduction of *Ireland*, happen'd to land in the North of *England* about the Time of this Anniversary ; when, marching into a Town upon this Day, they observed a strange Ceremony

in the Streets, which prompted their Curiosity to ask, What was the Matter? When, to their no small Terror and Amazement, they were inform'd, That this Ceremony was in Commemoration of the *Danes* Throats being cut by the *English*. This put them into such a Fright, that they stood under Arms all Night, for fear of undergoing the Fate of their Ancestors 700 Years before.

THE King of *Denmark*, advertis'd of this Slaughter, prepares an Army and Fleet to revenge this Massacre, and reduce *England* to his Obedience: The Quarrel, which before being an Invasion of another's Right was unlawful, being now supported by Justice, prospered accordingly; *Suene* recovered what he had lost in *England*, the Possession of which he left to his Son *Canutus*, who after the Death of *Ethelred* found a more dangerous Rival in his Son *Edmond*, surnamed *Ironside* from his Strength of Body and Hardiness of Constitution; this Quarrel, after several Battles with alternate Fortune, was at last compos'd between these two Princes, who being both gallant Men had a mutual Esteem for one another, and would have been always certainly Friends if they had not been Rivals in Empire: However, their Stars at last inclined to
Peace,

Peace, which was ratified between them after a single Combat in an Isle of the River *Severn*; the Conditions of which Peace were, an equal Division of the Kingdom between them.

THIS Combat is one of the most odd and remarkable Incidents in the *English* Story; for after they had fought in Sight of both Armies for a good space, without any great Disadvantage on either Side, they flung down their Swords, and embraced one another like Friends and Brothers, agreeing to a Partition of the Country between them; which Stipulation was amicably made, and religiously observed on both Sides; but not long after the unfortunate *Edmond*, circumvented by the Treachery of *Edrick* an *English* Nobleman, was murder'd: This perfidious Miscreant, after having perpetrated so horrid a Crime, thought to make his Court to *Canutus* by the Service of this infamous Action; but the generous *Dane* received the Villain with all the Horror and Disdain such a Wretch deserved, and immediately commanded him to be put to Death, the just Reward of Treason in all Ages, tho' in our own Time we have some Examples to contradict this Observation; however, if an old *English* Proverb be true, *That all's well that ends well,*

well, we may yet hope to see some Persons, guilty of the same Ingratitude to the best of Masters, tho' elevated now as they think above the Reach of Fortune, made Objects not only of Divine, but Human Vengeance.

AFTER the Death of *Edmond*, *Canute* took Possession of the whole Kingdom, and married *Emma* the Widow of *Ethelred*, and Mother to *Edward* afterwards called the *Confessor*: This ambitious Woman, not regarding the Right of her Children by her former Husband King *Ethelred*, made an Agreement with *Canute* before she would marry him, that if he should have any Children by her they should inherit the Crown, which Conditions were performed by the *Dane*, for by Testament he left his Kingdom of *Denmark* to his eldest Son, and *England* to *Hardicanute* born of *Emma*; but *Harold*, an elder Brother by another *Venter*, happening to be in *England* at the Death of his Father King *Canutus*, took the Advantage of *Hardicanute's* Absence in *Denmark*, and seized the Throne, which he disgraced by several Acts of Tyranny, being a most vicious and cruel Prince, but his Reign lasted not long; to him succeeded *Hardicanute*, who, being equally as wicked as his Brother *Harold*,
only

only shew'd the People, that they had changed the Man, but not the Tyrant; but the *English* had soon the Satisfaction to see themselves delivered from the Oppression of a foreign Race, by the sudden Fate of this King, who dying in a Debauch at *Lambeth*, put an End to the *Danish* Dynasty in *England*.

AFTER the Death of *Hardicanute*, the Saxon Blood was restor'd in *Edward*, for his Piety and Sufferings surnamed the *Confessor*, who had no just Title to the Crown; for the lawful Heir *Edward*, called the *Out-law*, who was Son to *Edmond Ironside*, was then in Exile in *Hungary*; but the People at this Time were so transported with their Deliverance from the *Danish* Race, that they elevated to the Throne the first *Saxon* they found with any Pretence of Title, for fear of falling again under the Dominion of the *Danes*.

Edward the Confessor, 1042.

HOWEVER, tho' he injured the right Heir himself, he would suffer no-body else to prejudice his just Pretensions, for which Reason he sent into *Hungary* for *Edward* the *Out-law*, and his Son *Edgar Atheling*, whom he treated with all manner of Respect, and declared his Heirs; a wonderful Instance of the Simplicity and Temper
of

of this Age, in which a Prince, conscious of his own Right, could sit still and suffer another quietly to possess his Throne, while at the same time the Intruder entertained no Jealousy of so dangerous a Rival, if he had thought fit to have asserted his Right.

THIS Prince was renowned for his exemplary Life, and particularly his Chastity, having lived forty Years in Wedlock, and after all that Time left his Queen a Virgin; whether or no this Abstinence from the lawful Pleasures of the Marriage Bed proceeded from any Scruple or natural Infirmary, we will not determine; but to the extraordinary Virtues of this King is imputed by the *English* that peculiar Gift of curing the Distemper called the Evil, this being the first King in the World whose Touch was blessed with that miraculous Operation; some have been apt to condemn the Opinion of this strange Cure, to be merely superstitious, as having no Ground in Reason, Philosophy, or Religion; and that if there is any Thing in it, 'tis effected by the Power of a strong Imagination in the Patient, which we often find to have wonderful Effects, above the reach of human Reason to comprehend; but it is demonstrable that this Cure cannot proceed from
Imagina-

Imagination, because the Objects on which it is try'd, are very often sucking Children, who are not sensible of what is doing to them: That this Touch of the Kings of *England* has had an unaccountable Effect in the Cure of this scrophulous Dis-temper for almost seven hundred Years together, when all other human Remedies have failed, is a Truth so certain, that a Man must have a great deal of Assurance who can deny Matter of Fact.

THIS *Edward*, being a wise as well as religious Prince, made several wholesome Laws for the better Government of the Common-wealth; insomuch, that before *William the Norman* could quietly be admitted to the Crown of *England*, he was obliged by an Oath to observe inviolably the Laws of *St. Edward*, who, among other Monuments of his Piety, founded the Abbey of *Westminster* for *Benedictine* Monks; which noble Foundation, tho' mightily clipp'd in the Revenues, has had nevertheless the good Fortune to escape being totally swallowed by the Avarice of Favourites at the Time of the Reformation, being converted into a Collegiate Church by Queen *Elizabeth*, and so not alienated from the Service of God, to which it was dedicated by the pious Founder.

BEHIND the high Altar of this Abbey Church lies the Body of the Founder in a magnificent *Gothick* Tomb, but very much defaced by the Superstition of some, and the Curiosity of others, who have picked out the Blood-stones and other Ornaments: The Death of this good Prince made Way for the greatest Revolution in *England*, since the *Saxon* Invasion, by the Conquest of *William* the *Norman*, which Period of Time is now the chiefest *Æra* in the *English* Chronology.

UPON the Death of *Edward* the *Confessor*, *Harold*, Son to Earl *Harold*, 1066. *Godwin*, seiz'd the Throne in Prejudice to the Right of *Edgar Atheling*: This Earl *Godwin* was a Nobleman of vast Demains and Power in the Time of the *Confessor*, most of which Lands were swallowed by an Irruption of the Sea on the Coast of *Kent*, in the Reign of *William Rufus*; however, the Sands to this Day retain the Name of the old Proprietor. This is the Account in our common Chronicles; but *Somner*, a learned Antiquary of this Country, treats this Story as a vulgar Error, by asserting that there never were any such Lands of Earl *Godwin*: This he proves by the Authority of *Doom's-Day Book*, which makes no mention of any such Estate; so that these Sands were not form'd

form'd by an Irruption, but a Dereliction of the Sea, occasioned by that great Inundation which happened about this Time on the Coasts of *Zeland* and *Flanders*; this consequently made the Shore of *England* shallower than before, and so exposed these Sands at low Tide, which till then were covered always by the greater Depth of Water: But to return to Earl *Godwin*, of whom there is a Story which may not be unentertaining to the Reader who has never met with it before; which, tho' it shews Cunning and Address, is no great Instance of his Conscience and Honesty: This Earl being on a Progress in the Country, observed some Lands of that Beauty and Fertility, as to raise his Curiosity of knowing the Owner; when, being informed that those Lands belonged to such a Nunnery, his Avarice immediately inspired him with a Desire of possessing this Estate, to which End he contrived the following Stratagem: He had a young Gentleman to his Nephew, whose Age did not exceed seventeen or eighteen Years, but of greater Beauty than is common to the rougher Sex, even in that Bloom; this young Man he contrived should be disguis'd in Womens Cloaths and introduced into the Nunnery; the Smoothness of his Chin, and a womanish Complexion, carried

ried on the Cheat till it was not the Interest of those who had discovered his Sex, to let the World know so much as themselves (the Reader may guess at the Instructions given by the Uncle to his Nephew;) in a few Months no less than ten of the Nuns proved with Child, and amongst the rest the Lady Abbess herself, who, being a Woman of great Quality, was indulg'd in the Government of that Nunnery before the Age prescrib'd by the Canons, and so consequently not too old to be entangled in the agreeable Amusements of an Amour; the young *Hercules*, having so successfully performed his Part, gave Notice to his Uncle Earl *Godwin*, who running to the King inform'd him of what had happened in such a Nunnery, with an Aggravation of every Circumstance: The good King *Edward*, extremely disturb'd at this infamous Story, declar'd, if it prov'd true, that the Nunnery should be suppress'd; and immediately gave Orders to the Bishop of the Diocese to visit the Place, and make a particular Enquiry into this Affair.

THIS was all that Earl *Godwin* desired; the Matter of Fact appeared, the poor Nuns were ejected, the House demolished, and the Lands given to the covetous Earl who begg'd them. This Injustice, and
his

his other Crimes, made him not long after an Object of divine Vengeance ; as he sat at Table with King *Edward*, who happened in accidental Discourse to make some Reflection on the Death of his Brother *Alfrid*, supposed to be murder'd by the Contrivance of *Godwin*, who, thinking to clear his Innocence, by dreadful Imprecations wished the Bread he was then eating might choak him, if he had any Hand in the Death of that Prince ; these Accents were scarce out of his Mouth, when he fell down dead at the King's Feet.

NEVERTHELESS, the immense Riches he left behind enabled his Son *Harold* to ascend the Throne ; the Nobility, corrupted by his vast Munificence, assisting him in his Usurpation: By which we may see, that Mankind were the same in all Ages, and that the same Causes will have the same Effects ; nor had the Clergy of this Time a less Share in this Injustice, the Exclusion of the lawful Heir *Edgar Atheling* ; that Order of Men being generally most forward in Revolutions, tho' by their Profession more removed than others from intermeddling in temporal Affairs.

Harold was scarce warm in his new Seat, when the Dreams of Majesty were interrupted and broken by a surprizing Message from *William Duke of Normandy*,
to

to demand the Crown of *England*, according to an Agreement made between *Harold* and himself. The Occasion of this Stipulation is variously related by Historians; but the most common Account is, That *Harold*, in the Time of the *Confessor*, diverting himself in a little Vessel on the Coast of *Normandy*, by a sudden Tempest was driven on Shoar, and made a Prisoner: *William*, after having detained him some Time, gave him his Liberty, upon taking an Oath to assist the Duke of *Normandy* in his Pretensions to the Crown of *England*, whenever *Edward* the *Confessor* should die: This was the Promise, the Performance of which the *Norman* sent to demand of *Harold*, who wanted no Excuses to palliate this Violation of his Word, by declaring that the Oath was forced upon him when a Prisoner, and so consequently not valid or obligatory: It could not be expected that this Message should make any Impression on so ambitious a Man as *Harold* who, having sacrificed his Honour and Conscience before, by usurping the Right of his lawful and natural Prince, could not be thought very sensible of any Reproaches from Duke *William*, who, besides a remote Alliance with *Edward* the *Confessor*, had no better a Pretence to the Crown, than *Harold* himself.

THESE

THESE Expostulations ended at last in a mutual Defiance; Duke *William* prepares an Army and Fleet to do himself Justice, as he called it, on the perjured Usurper of the Crown of *England*; while *Harold*, after having taken Care to secure the southern Coasts against *Normandy*, in case of an Invasion, marches with an Army northward to encounter his Brother *Tostain*, who with a Rabble of *Danes* and *Norwegians* had made a Descent; where we will leave the two Brothers engaged, and return to the Duke of *Normandy*, who was a Bastard Son to Duke *Robert*, and sixth in Descent from *Rollo* the Founder of this Family, from whom, in a right Line of Father and Son, the present young Earl of *Bath* is the forty-first, he being descended from a second Son of *Rollo*; and Duke *William*, who afterwards conquered *England*, a Bastard of the elder Branch: *Rollo* founded this Dukedom meerly by the Reputation of his *Normans*, who not only assailed the northern Part of *Europe*, but carried the Terror of their Arms over the *Alps*, and founded new Kingdoms in *Italy*: So formidable were these Pirates and Adventurers at this Time to the rest of the World, that a particular Deprecation was inserted in the *Litanies* of the Church,

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to

to implore the Protection of Heaven against the Fury of the *Normans*, who, now planted in a milder Climate, and under a warmer Sun, with the Advantage of bordering upon *France*, began to shake off that Ferity which they had brought with them from the Mountains of *Norway*, and to mellow by degrees into Civility and good Manners, but retaining their antient Courage withal, by a happy Composition and Mixture, made one of the bravest Races of Men that the World ever produced.

THE Duke of *Normandy*, having prepared all Things necessary for his Expedition, in which he was assisted by several neighbouring Princes, as well as his own Nobles and Feudatories, set sail for *England*, where he landed in a capacious Bay, called *Pemsey*, in *Suffex*; while *Harold*, who was at this Time in the North, having routed and slain his Brother, upon the first Notice of this Invasion, marched southward with a victorious Army to repel the Invader; both Armies met near *Hastings* in *Suffex*, at a Place since called *Battle*, where the Conqueror afterward built an Abbey, to expiate for so much Christian Blood shed by his Ambition, on this unfortunate Spot of Ground.

THIS

THIS being the greatest Battle, for the Number of Slain, that has been fought in *Europe* for many Ages, I shall be the more particular in the Detail of this Day: The *English*, being more than double in Number to the Enemy, might, humanly speaking, promise themselves all the Success that could be expected from the Advantage of their Numbers, especially being flush'd with Victory, and conscious of that innate Gallantry which has in all Ages distinguish'd this People; so that we must ascribe the contrary Success to that unfathomable Providence which governs the Universe, contradicts sometimes its own Mechanism by giving the same Causes different Effects, and snatches the Victory from the Strong to bestow on the Weak; tho' there was one Accident, which seems visibly to contribute to the ill Success of this Day: The Night before the Battle, happen'd to be the Eve of the King's Birth, and was celebrated by the *English*, with all manner of Riot and Debauchery; and while the *Normans* were at the Feet of their Confessors, imploring the Protection of Heaven, and preparing themselves for Death, the jolly *Saxons* spent the Night in carousing and drinking Healths to their Leader, and Prosperity to their Arms; tho' this

Debauch might probably inflame their Courage the next Morning, however it must impair their Strength and blind their Conduct; which was the most agreeable to Heaven, the Success of the ensuing Day declared; for tho' the *English* behaved themselves with their usual Bravery, yet at last they lost both the Victory and their Country by an irretrievable Blow: In the Beginning of the Fight the *Normans* were every-where repulsed, being unable to make any Impression on the Firmness of the *English* Battalions; when Duke *William*, seeing his Sword could not prevail, had recourse to a Stratagem; he order'd immediately a Retreat to be sounded, as if he could no longer endure the Fury of the Enemy, which the *English* perceiving, with Shouts and Acclamations of Joy pursued, as they thought, the flying *Normans*, who seeing their Design have its expected Event, by the Disorder of the Enemy, who out of greediness of Pursuit had broken their Ranks, returned to the Charge with new Fury, so that the *English* lost that Advantage by their ill Conduct which their Courage had given them before; immediately followed the entire Rout of the Army with a most terrible Carnage, near seventy thousand *English* being found dead in

in the Field of Battle, and among that Number *Harold* himself shot through the Head with an Arrow; whose Fall not a little contributed to the speedier Victory of the Enemy, by inclining the *English* Soldiers to Flight and Despair.

THE Death of this King by an Arrow puts me in mind of a Remark, which I would not omit; That the *English*, before the *Norman* Conquest, were not acquainted with the Use of the Bow and Arrow among their Arms; tho' it seems to be a Weapon the most natural to Mankind; we find the most savage Nations in all Parts of the World have, by meer Instinct, found out the Use of these Arms, tho' Strangers to the other more necessary Inventions for the convenience of Life; but being once instructed by the *Normans*, they grew so expert above other Nations, that to the Use of these Arms alone, in a great measure, are owing their frequent Victories over the *French* in After-ages; till the Invention of Guns made useless almost all other offensive Weapons.

THE Body of *Harold*, by the Piety of the Conqueror, was delivered to the Tears and Intercession of his Mother, who buried him at *Waltham* in an Abbey of his own Foundation, where he

securely slept for six hundred Years, till in the last Age his Tomb, broke open by Curiosity or Sacrilege, discovered the perfect shape of a human Body, which upon the Touch fell into Dust. But we have Examples of the same nature in all Histories.





SECTION II.

WILLIAM *the Conqueror.*

[1066.]



WILLIAM, from this Time sur-named the *Conqueror*, soon after the Battle marches to *London* without any Opposition; the Clergy, who, as I observed before, are the forwardest in Revolutions, making Use of all their Power and Credit, which was too great at this Time, in persuading the People to submit to their new Master.

THE *Kentish* Men only, more tenacious than the rest of the Nation, resolv'd to sacrifice their Lives to their Liberties and Laws; against these People was the Conqueror forced to march with his Army, in order to a compleat Reduction of the Kingdom, and a firmer Establishment of his new Acquisitions; but he had not entered far into this Province, when he was surprized to find so many armed Comba-

tants ranged in Battle against him, who, the better to disguise their Numbers, carried each a green Bough in one Hand to cover his Body : This made an odd Appearance when they moved at a Distance, and so surprized the *Normans* with the Strangeness of the Sight, that they were the more easily induced to capitulate, and come to a Treaty ; which at last was concluded by a Submission on the one Side, and a solemn Promise to preserve their Laws and Customs on the Part of the Victor. So that this Country, by the particular Bravery of her Inhabitants, defended herself from receiving those Marks of Servitude which were imposed on the rest of the *English* at the Will of the Conqueror : This gallant Action has made the Posterity of these People, in Imitation of their Ancestors, distinguish themselves on several Occasions.

William, thus intirely possessed of the Kingdom, easily repressed all the little Commotions which were raised with a Design to shake off the *Norman* Yoke ; while that Part of the *Saxon* Nobility, who would not submit to their new Master, retired into *Scotland*, where being supported, they made several Inroads into the North of *England*, but without any Success, being always repelled by the *Normans* ;

mans ; at the same Time *Edgar Atheling*, the true *Saxon* Heir of the Crown, apprehending the Danger of too good a Title, stole privately away with his Mother and two Sisters, designing to refuge the Ruins of the Royal Family of *England* in *Hungary*, where he was born; but driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Scotland*, he was received with all imaginable Honours by *Malcolme*, who married *Margarette* one of his Sisters, by whom he had several Children; the Great-Grandson of this Lady was afterwards *Henry* the Second of *England*, in whose Person was united the *Saxon* and *Norman* Blood, which gave that Prince a better Title to the Crown, at least to the Affections of the People, who had not yet forgot their old Race of Kings, than his Great-Grandfather's Sword at the Battle of *Hastings*. As for *Edgar* himself, after having made several vain Efforts to recover his Right, he at last submitted to his own and the Fate of his Country; upon which being allowed twenty Shillings *per Diem*, a Sum thought sufficient to support a Prince in that Age, he ever after lived a retired Life, in which he enjoy'd more true Content and Happiness, than what the vitiated Appetites of Man-kind

kind make them fancy can only be found within the Circle of a Crown.

William thus secure forgets the Promises he had made at his Coronation, to maintain the Laws of *St. Edward*; instead of which he introduces those of *Normandy* throughout his Dominions, so that ever since the Laws of *England* have been writ in the *Norman French*, as great a Solecism in Politicks as Religion, to expect People should obey what they do not know, and pray for what they do not understand; two unreasonable Customs supported by the Craft of Priests, and Chicanery of Lawyers. It was perhaps the Design of the Conqueror, by this Introduction of his own Laws, to tempt the People to learn the *French* Tongue, and forget their own; so that all Tracts of their antient Customs being lost and obliterated, they might no longer remember that they were once free, or reflect now that they had lost their Liberty: But notwithstanding all the Care and Pains that were taken to make the two People one, by a Harmony of Customs, Manners, and Language; yet so diametrically opposite all along has been the Temper and Genius of the two Nations, that, excepting our Laws, we have no Tracts of a Conquest in our Language, those few *French* Words which

which we have at this Day in the *English* Tongue, having been made Denizens in later Ages; so that except some few Terms of Art with which the *English* were unacquainted, especially in Cookery, we calling the Flesh by the *French* Word for the living Creature, as Beef, Mutton, Veal, Pork, we have very little of the *Norman* in the *English* Tongue, which cannot properly be called a Language, being a Sub-Dialect of the *Saxon*, which was itself only a Dialect of the ancient *Teutonic*; but in this last Age the *English* Tongue has been so refin'd and softened by a more general Conversation with our southern Neighbours, and foreign Books, especially by leaving out the unnecessary Consonants, which has made it less Guttural, and consequently more Harmonious, as to be at this Day for Beauty, Strength and Comprehension, not much inferior to the Dead, and equal to most Living Languages; whereas, if we look very far back, we shall find the Language of our Ancestors as barbarous as their Manners.

BUT the Introduction of new Laws was not the only Badge of Slavery imposed by the Conqueror, who challenged to himself the whole Demean of the Kingdom, as accruing by Right of Conquest; but notwithstanding this Pretence, we do
not

not find that he dispossessed many of the *English* who were not in Arms against him, or afterwards opposed his Title by adhering to his Enemies ; of his Justice and Goodness in this Point, there is a memorable Example in the Case of a *Saxon*, whose Lands being granted to one *Warren* a *Norman*, the injured Party appeal'd to the Conqueror, who, upon Proof that the *Saxon* had never borne Arms against him, immediately restored him to his Estate.

* THIS was a better Treatment than what the *Irish* met with of late ; Man, Woman and Child were Outlawed ; nay, Infants at the Breast were made Guilty of Treason against an Earthly Prince, when they were incapable, by any Act of Reason, of offending against the Majesty of the King of Kings.

THE *English* are not like to extend their Empire, or even preserve what they have already acquired, till they follow the Maxims of a greater, I will not say wiser People, than themselves, I mean the *Romans*, whose Lenity and Indulgence to their

* In Confirmation of this Hardship, afterwards at the time of the Trust, great Numbers, upon their Remonstrance, were reliev'd, and had their Attainders revers'd by an *English* Parliament.

their conquered Provinces secured their Acquisitions by riveting the Affections of the People, who finding their own Interest the same with their Conqueror's, could have no Thoughts of freeing themselves from a Yoke, at the same Time both easy and profitable, Till we observe these Maxims, *Foris justum Imperium, — in quo victis nihil præter Injuriae licentiam eripiebant.* We can never depend upon a Submission which is not founded upon the Affection of the Subject as well as Duty, unless we follow the *Spanish* Method of Extirpation, which that cruel Nation used in the Reduction of the *West-Indies*, which, for ought I know, would not be more Inhuman than the present Treatment of this poor People; it being an equal Cruelty to take away Life, or the necessary Support of it: This Case of the *Irish* Nation is so particularly hard, that there is scarce an Instance of the like nature; most of the Outlawries running, *for Treasons committed on the 13th Day of February 1688*, which was the Day the then Prince and Princess of *Orange*, accepted the Crown in the Banqueting-House, the News of which could not be known on the other Side *St. George's Channel* that same Day, without Inspiration; but every-body knows at that Time, the

the Government of *Ireland* was intirely in the Possession of the late King *James* by his Lieutenant the Earl of *Tyrconnell*, who had an Army on Foot to have kept the People in Obedience, tho' they should have had never so great an Inclination to revolt; soon after, the late King *James* went over in Person into that Kingdom, where he was without dispute a King *de facto*, to whom our own Laws and Principles justify a Submission; upon which this unfortunate People were reduced to this Dilemma, of being hang'd by one King or the other, let them chuse which Side they would; but what aggravates the Hardship of this Case in respect of the Authors of this Oppression is, that those *Irish*, that were the most forward to fling themselves into the *English* Protection, as soon as they had an Opportunity, have fared the worst, and lost their Estates only for submitting to civil Authority; whereas others, who held out to the very last, and were the Occasion of shedding more Blood by a Prolongation of the War, are all indemnified by the Articles which they made with their Swords in their Hands; by which Example Posterity will be instructed to hope for more Safety, and better Quarter, by a desperate Resistance, than an early Submission.

BUT

BUT to return to our Story : If the *Normans* had pretended to an universal Dispossession of the *English*, it is probable they might have been driven out again, notwithstanding their great Victory in *Suffex*, and we have wanted at this Day that *Æra* in our Chronology, which we begin at the Conquest : Thus the Prudence of *William* made him cautious in imposing any Severities, but what were absolutely necessary to retain a new conquered People in Obedience; but the Successors of this Prince grew more indulgent to the *English*, by whose Courage and Fidelity, tho' acquired Subjects, they always afterwards bridled and restrained their Hereditary and Natural.

AFTER the entire Submission of *England*, *William* the *Norman* found no great Troubles to disturb the rest of his Reign, only some few Commotions in the *North*, which were soon appeased, being the last convulsive Efforts of expiring Liberty ; so that he quietly enjoy'd a Crown, purchased with so much Blood and Danger, in Contradiction to the common Fate of Violence and Rapine ; but the Rebellion of his Son in *Normandy* gave him some Trouble for a Time ; however he vanquished at last all Misfortunes with his usual Felicity, and died in his own Country, his
Death

Death being occasioned by a Fall from his Horse, to the ill Effects of which the Weight and Bulk of his Body did not a little contribute. Nothing can more illustrate the Vanity of human Greatness than the last Catastrophe of this Prince, who, after having conquered such an Extent of Ground, could hardly find Earth enough to bury him; the Particulars of which Adventure I omit, they being to be found in our common Chronicles; such contemptible Things are these Meteors of Majesty, after all the Bustle and Glare they make in the World, when they come to be levelled by Death with the Herd of Mankind.

WILLIAM RUFUS.

[1087.]

BY Testament he left his Dukedom of *Normandy* to his eldest Son *Robert*, and his Kingdom of *England* to his second, *William*, called *Rufus* from the Colour of his Hair, thinking himself at Liberty to dispose of his own Acquisitions as he pleased: But *Rufus* had not been long in Possession before he was disturbed by the Claim

Claim of Duke *Robert*, who, insisting upon his Right of Primogeniture, thought it very unreasonable that his younger Brother should be a King, while he must be contented with the Dutchy of *Normandy*: But *William Rufus*, pleading his Father's Will, would not easily resign so good a Title to the unarmed Remonstrances of Duke *Robert*; but this Difference was soon compromised between the two Brothers, *Robert* resigning his Pretensions to the Crown of *England* for a Pension of 3000 Marks *per Annum*; so great was that Sum in this Age, or so inconsiderable the Value of that Crown, which in our Days has received no less than sixty Millions Sterling in the Space of ten Years, which Sum, upon a just Discount for the different Value of Silver in that Age and our own Times, would have astonished and frightened our Ancestors, who, as they were more tenacious of their just Rights than we, thought it the greatest Sign of Liberty to keep their Purses shut, and preserve their Property.

THIS Agreement was not long in Force; *Robert*, either dissatisfied in Mind for the ill Bargain he had made, or else upon some new Disgust, calls the *French* King to his Assistance, and flies into open Hostility, by seizing several Towns in
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Normandy, which he had mortgaged to his Brother *William* upon a designed Expedition into the Holy Land; upon Notice of which, *Rufus* immediately sails to *Normandy*, and with great Address corrupts the King of *France*, who left poor Duke *Robert* to shift for himself; *Robert*, thus reduced to this Necessity, was forced to submit to his Brother, who soon after returning into *England* ended his Days by an uncommon and deplorable Stroke of Destiny, being killed in the New Forest by the accidental Glance of an Arrow from the Back of a Deer, others say from a Tree; nor is it more certain who was the Person that shot the King by this unhappy Accident; the general Report made Sir *Walter Tyrrell*, his Bow-bearer, the unfortunate Man; but some of his Contemporaries from his own Mouth have affirmed, that he was not in the Field that Day: The Death of *William* on this particular Spot seems to leave so bright a Tract of the divine Vengeance, that the most incredulous can hardly ascribe it to the common Results of Fortune; when we consider, that not only *William*, but two more of the same Family, Sons and Grandsons to *William* the Conqueror, came to untimely and violent Ends in this unlucky Forest, which the Impiety of that Prince had

had alienated from the Service of God, by destroying no less than Thirty six Parochial Churches, besides Religious Houses, to dedicate the sacred Ground to the Use of wild Beasts.

H E N R Y I.

[1100.]

RUFUS thus dead, his younger Brother *Henry* immediately seized both his Treasure and his Crown, his Brother *Robert's* Absence in the Holy War giving him greater Opportunity to establish himself; thus that unfortunate Prince lost a real and hereditary Crown, while he was seeking an imaginary one under the Walls of *Jerusalem*: This was without dispute an Aggravation of the Injustice towards Duke *Robert*, who was to have succeeded to the Crown, according to the Stipulation between him and his Brother *William*: *Henry*, in answer to this, pleaded, that he was born the Son of a King, and Heir to a Crown; whereas his elder Brother, being only Son to a Duke, could pretend to nothing but his Father's Dutchy. This was such another Contention as we find in the *Persian* Story,

which Dispute being left to the Arbitration of an Uncle, was decided in Favour of *Xerxes*, the younger Brother, because he was born Son to a King, and his elder Brother to a private Man before his Accession to the Throne: But what is more remarkable in that Story is, the quiet Submission of the baffled Party to this hard Decision, of which *Justin* says, *Nec Victor insultaverit, nec Victus doluerit.*

Henry, thus possessed of the Crown, and conscious of wanting a good Title, thought it the most prudent Course he could take to establish himself in the Affections of the People, by easing them of all the Hardships they lay under by the Imposition of either his Father or Brother; the same Severity not being now so necessary as immediately after a Conquest: In order to this Redress of Grievance, he abolished that severe Injunction of his Father's, call'd *Couvrefeu*, which obliged all the *English* at the Sound of a Bell to extinguish their Fire and Candle. and go to Bed; it being highly criminal for any Person to be seen Abroad after Eight at Night: Moreover, he gave Leave to his Nobility to build Castles, and hunt in his Forests, which last Liberty was restrained with so much Severity by his Predecessors; besides several other Actions

ons of Bounty, which shewed him a virtuous and good Prince.

FROM hence we may make this Reflection, that some Advantages accrue to the People, by the want of a good Title in their Prince, who, conscious of this Defect, is more upon his Guard to disguise his vicious Inclinations, which, tho' stronger in Usurpers than lawful Princes, are more commonly concealed by the Necessity of a greater Diffimulation, while a Sense of Danger makes them affect Popularity by obliging their People; whereas some of our most virtuous and lawful Princes, conscious of their Right, have sacrificed themselves to the Malice of the Times, by too obstinate an Assertion even of their just and legal Prerogatives.

Henry soon found the Advantage of this prudent Behaviour towards his People, whose Affections supported him in a Time of the greatest Danger; for it was not long before *Robert* made a Descent from *Normandy*, with a very considerable Force, to assert his Claim to the Crown; but finding his Brother *Henry* in a good Condition to receive him, he yielded at last to the Persuasion of those who interpos'd to prevent the Effusion of Blood; and such was the Easiness of this Prince's Temper, that he accepted at last

his former Pension of 3000 Marks, upon a Promise that he should succeed to the Crown on the Death of *Henry*, and so resigned his Pretensions ; a greater Instance of his good Nature than his Wisdom. But it was not long, before new Animosities arose between them, which being amicably composed, Duke *Robert* comes over to make a Visit to his Brother in *England*, where he was so charmed with his Reception, that in Return he frankly of his own Accord remitted the 3000 Marks *per Annum* ; but soon after, repenting this Generosity, complained that *Henry* had over-reach'd him ; which coming to the King's Ears, so enraged him, that he immediately fell into *Normandy* with an Army, and soon made himself Master of the whole Dutchy except *Roan* ; after which Success he returns triumphant into *England*, follow'd by Duke *Robert*, who hoped to make him so far relent as to give him back the Dukedom, and content his Ambition with the Kingdom he had ravished from him : But so unaccountable is the Thirst of Power, that *Henry* not only rejected this reasonable Proposition, but could not find in his Heart to treat his Brother with common Respect ; which ill Usage so exasperated this unfortunate Prince, that he
immedi-

immediately had recourse to Arms, in hopes of recovering his Patrimony: But such was the constant Fortune of *Henry*, that he soon vanquished *Robert* in a Battle, in which ten Thousand *Normans* were slain, and the Flower of that Nobility destroyed or taken by the *English*; who, by a strange Circulation of Events, won this Battle, and annexed *Normandy* to the Crown of *England*, the same Day forty Years that the *Normans* won the Battle of *Hastings*, and annexed *England* to *Normandy*.

AMONG the Number of the Prisoners was unfortunate *Robert* himself, who being committed to a close Confinement, and endeavouring to make his Escape, had his Eyes most barbarously put out, as some Writers report; which Cruelty could not so break his Heart, supported either by natural Courage, Christianity, or Philosophy, but that he was contented to survive twenty-eight Years in Prison, and all that Time in a continual Night of Darkness and Horreur.

THIS Cruelty of *Henry* to his Brother, if true, is an indelible Mark of Infamy on his Memory, who, except this one Act of Barbarity, was a very Great Man; but it went not long unpunished, so shallow is human Contrivance; for the only

legitimate Son of this King, Prince *William*, was drowned, with his Sister and several others of Royal Blood, in their Passage between *Normandy* and *England*; the Hand of Heaven snatching away this Prince, for whose Sake this Cruelty was acted on his Uncle; so that *Henry* had no lawful Male-Issue to inherit his unjust Possessions purchased with so horrid a Cruelty; his Daughter *Maud*, married afterward to the Earl of *Anjou*, Father to *Henry* the second, being his presumptive Heir.

THE Loss of this only Son was a sensible Mortification to the Ambition of *Henry*, who never after perfectly enjoy'd himself, and at last died of a Surfeit on Lamprey; in him ended the *Norman* Male Line, not extended beyond the second Generation, but extinct in the immediate Children of the Conqueror, by which we may see how one Blast of Providence can in a moment tear up by the Roots that Power, which the Violence of the Sword had been almost an Age in Planting.

BUT tho' this King had no more legitimate Issue, he had a great many natural Children, his Incontinence being the greatest of his personal Vices; and tho' the Example of the Prince often very much affects

affects the Manners of the Subject, however in this Reign we find a very memorable Instance of Chastity in the Person of an Archbishop, who, being advised by his Physicians to make use of a Woman as the only Means to cure an inveterate Distemper, reply'd, That the Remedy was worse than the Disease; and so died a Martyr to the most difficult of all moral Virtues: A wonderful Example indeed! but not so remarkable in the old Man, as the Priest. We have a Prelate in our own Days, who undoubtedly would have ventured on this Experiment on a less Temptation than that of Life, since he has not been able to content himself with less than three Wives of his own.

IN this King's Time was first instituted the High Court of Parliament, all Assemblies of State till now being managed by the King and Nobility, divided into Lords Spiritual and Temporal; but this third Order, in Process of Time, by a Revolution of Property, and assuming to themselves an arbitrary Power not warranted by the original Constitution, have in some Instances, in the Time of the late Troubles, very much sunk and eclipsed the Authority and Lustre of the other two.

STEPHEN.

STEPHEN.

[1135.]

WE have seen the short Continuance of the Empire founded by the *Norman Conqueror*; for after the Death of *Henry* the first, *Stephen* Earl of *Boleyn* stept into the Throne, in prejudice to the Right of *Maud* the Empress, Daughter to the last King: This *Stephen* was Grandson to *William* the Conqueror by the Mother's Side, as *Maud* was Granddaughter by the Father; so that the Possession of the Crown for at least three Successions, *William*, *Henry* and *Stephen*, was a continued Usurpation; this Frequency of irregular Successions has given Occasion to Men of ill Principles to justify the tumultuary Election of the People, and their own unwarrantable Actions, by the Example of past Ages, which is very ill Logick to found an Argument upon; for if this Maxim be allowed, Sacrilege, Murder and Blasphemy, may as easily be defended by a Prescription of Time and Custom, as any irregular Violation in the Constitution of Government; because such Things have been done before, it is no Consequence that Posterity should follow the pernicious

pernicious Example ; especially when we consider, that Usurpations, as they are founded on Injustice and Rapine, must necessarily be supported by the same Principles, and a greater Expence of Blood and Treasure than would maintain the Necessities of the Government four times as long under a quiet and lawful Administration ; a conspicuous Example of which Truth will be given in the following Reign of this *Stephen*, whose unjust Seizure of the Crown flung this Kingdom into terrible Convulsions for some Years, by engaging the Nation in a cruel and unnatural Civil War between these two Competitors *Maud* and *Stephen* ; the ill Consequences of which might have been continued to Posterity, if the Care of Heaven by timely taking away *Eustace*, Son to the Usurper, had not confined his Ambition to the Term of his own Life : For *Stephen*, thus childless, could in Reason have no further Object of his Ambition, than to live quiet during his whole Reign, and then suffer the Succession to return into the right Channel ; nothing being more easy, than to be just when we have no further Interest to be otherwise. This Consideration brought him at last to Terms of Agreement, after several bloody Battles with almost equal Vicissitude of good and bad Fortune : The
Conditions

Conditions of this Treaty were, that *Stephen* should quietly enjoy the Crown during his natural Life, and in the mean time *Henry*, Son to *Maud*, should be declared presumptive Heir, and after *Stephen's* Death succeed. To this Agreement both Parties willingly consented, tho' some of the Nobility, who had too firmly adhered to *Stephen's* Party, conscious of their own Guilt, and apprehensive of *Henry's* Resentment when he should come to the Throne, advis'd the King against the Succession of that Prince, preferring their own private Security to the publick Good and the Safety of Posterity; but this wicked Advice was prudently rejected by *Stephen*, who, if he had been capable of following this Counsel, would have been the last of Mankind, and have made the blackest Figure in Story; it being impossible to conceive human Nature so totally deprav'd, as to be wicked meerly for Wickedness sake, which he must have been had he contrived a Prolongation of his own Injustice, of which he could reap no longer Benefit; this would have been a Desire to do Mischief after Death, and to make War upon Right and Equity in the Grave, notwithstanding in our own Times we have seen the very thing done in a parallel Case. This *Stephen*, barring the Guilt of Usurpation,

pation, was in other Respects a Prince of great Courage and Wisdom; as an Instance of the former Quality, our Chronicles relate, that when defeated in a Battle against *Maud*, and his whole Army routed and fled, he scorned to follow their Example, and, tho' abandoned by all his Retinue, rode about the Field with his Sword in his Hand, daring and braving the Victor, who for a great while was afraid to approach him; the Words of *Hoveden* are, *Horrentibus inimicis ictuum ejus immanitatem*. But at last overpowered by Numbers, he was taken Prisoner, and very rigorously treated by *Maud*, who now had the Game in her Hands if she had known how to manage it; but elated with her good Fortune, through Insolence and want of Address, she disgusted the *Londoners*, who, revolting from her Party, turn'd the Scale, and restored the Fortunes of *Stephen*; so great a Weight in all Revolutions had the Faction of that powerful City, even at a Time that it was not by a tenth part so considerable as now.

BUT after the Agreement about the Succession, *Stephen* quietly enjoy'd the Crown too dearly purchased by so much Blood and Labour; and now he shew'd the World, that he was as capable of Governing his People in time of Peace, as command-

commanding his Armies in War; but as if Action were his only Element, he did not long survive to enjoy his Repose. Upon the Death of *Stephen* succeeded a *French* Family, who govern'd this Kingdom for several Ages with great Glory and Splendor; these following Kings being of a different Race, we will reserve the History of their Affairs for another Section.



SECTION



SECTION III.

HENRY II.

[1154.]



ACCORDING to the Treaty with *Stephen*, as well as in due Order of Succession, *Henry* the second, Son to *Maud* the Empress, and Great Grandson to *William* the Conqueror, ascended the Throne ; in this Prince center'd all the Pretences both *Norman* and *Saxon* to the Crown of *England* ; the Father of *Henry* was *Geofrey* of *Anjou*, who, from a Sprig of Broom which he wore in his Bonnet, assumed the Surname of *Plantagenett*, so illustrious in the *English* Chonicles for a long Descent of gallant Princes ; *Henry*, adorned with Generosity, Courage and many other Virtues, might well be reckoned among our great and fortunate Princes, if the Undutifulness of his Children had not interrupted his Felicity ; his
Dis-

Dispute afterwards with *Becket*, gave him great Uneasiness, and disturbed the Peace of his Reign, yet nothing went so near his Heart as the Disobedience of those, from whom he might have expected nothing but Returns of Gratitude, Duty and Affection; the wonderful Indulgence of this Prince toward his Children made their Crimes so much more black and unpardonable: He was so fond of his eldest Son *Henry*, that, not content to leave him his Dominions after his Death, he would make him share both Power and Majesty during his own Life; for he crown'd him King, and made the Nobility swear Allegiance to him: How great a Weakness this was, Experience immediately convinced him; for when, to honour the Solemnity of his Son's Coronation, he would needs carry himself the first Dish to his Table, the insolent young Man told those, who took Notice of the Honour his Father did him, that it was but fit the Son of a Duke should wait upon the Son of a King; a Saying equally brutal, insolent, and ungrateful; and, to shew that he was in earnest, he soon after fell into open Rebellion, impatient of a Rival even in the Person who had both given him Majesty and Life: Upon this, the better to support himself, he called the *French* King, his

his Father-in-law, to his Assistance, and inveigled his two younger Brothers, *Richard* and *John*, to be Partakers of his Guilt, in which, as they bore a Part, so they shared in his Punishments; this Prince himself was cut off before the Flower of his Age; his Brother *Richard* came to a violent End at last, beside the Trouble and Chagrine of a long Imprisonment; and *John*, after a miserable Life, which was a constant Series of Calamities, Vexations, and Misfortunes, ended his unhappy Days, as some say, by Poison; so severely was the Breach of filial Duty revenged upon the immediate Persons of these three Princes, as well as their Posterity. The next Misfortune of *Henry* was the Misunderstanding between him and *Becket*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, tho' in the main a good Man, was very much to blame to be so contumacious with his Prince: *Becket* fled into *France*, where he was supported both by the King and the Pope against *Henry*; at last, being reconciled, and restored to his Archbishoprick, he was barbarously murdered at his own Altar by four Knights, who officiously thinking to please the King, tho' without his Command or Knowledge, perpetrated this execrable Murder; being neither deterred from so flagitious an Attempt by the

F Character

Character of the Person, nor the Sanctity of the Place: But the Murderers, instead of meeting their expected Reward, in a few Years all miserably perished in Exile: The Archbishop was reputed a Martyr, and soon after canoniz'd at *Rome* by the Title of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*.

KING *Henry*, in Recompence of his Sufferings, built him a magnificent Shrine, at which he offer'd his Crown, after having been soundly whipt by the whole Convent in his Passage to the Tomb.

IMMENSE were the Riches which the Superstition of that Age devoted to this Shrine; for the Kings of *France*, as well as *England*, made frequent Pilgrimages to *St. Thomas*, whose Tomb they adorned with Gifts of an inestimable Value.

THESE Troubles about the Archbishop, with the frequent Rebellions of his Sons, and a Series of Misfortunes at the latter End of his Reign, sunk so deep into the Spirit of *Henry*, as to finish his Life before the Course of Nature exacted.

RICHARD

RICHARD I.

[1189.]

HE was succeeded by his Son *Richard* the first, a magnificent, valiant, generous and good-natured Prince, but a little too fierce and insolent; of this *Richard* they tell that unaccountable Story so frequent in the Histories of all Ages, That upon his Approach to his Father's Corpse, the dead Body immediately bled; which Spectacle so sensibly touch'd him, that he burst into a Torrent of Tears, to expiate his repeated Violations of paternal Authority; a Crime so heinous, that the *Chinese* affirm it is not in the Power of Heaven to forgive.

Richard, being settled on the Throne, apply'd his Thoughts wholly according to the Devotion of that Age, to his intended Expedition to the Holy Land; in order to which he rais'd all the Money he could, by selling and mortgaging his Lands and Jewels, besides the voluntary Contributions of his People; all which he consumed in a short Time in this unnecessary Expedition, besides 900000 l. which he found in his Father's Coffers, an incredible Sum for that Age: But tho' he expended so vast a

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Treasure,

Treasure, he acquired no less a Reputation to himself and Country by his glorious Actions against the *Saracens*, whom he vanquished in several Rencounters, engaging with the Great *Saladine* Hand to Hand, whom he overthrew both Horse and Man to the Ground, and planted the *English* Lions on the Walls of *Acon*; but what is a greater Accumulation of Glory, in his Passage to the Holy Land he not only revenged some Insults received from the *Sicilians*, but added a new Kingdom to his other Titles; for, being affronted by a *Greek* Tyrant who had seized the Isle of *Cyprus*, he immediately debark'd his Troops and made himself Master of the Island, putting the Tyrant into Chains of Silver.

AFTERWARDS, in the Holy Land, falling into Dissension with *Leopold* of *Austria*, who resented his pulling down the Imperial Eagle and setting the Arms of *England* on the Walls of *Acon*, when they took that Town from the *Saracens*, he resolved to return Home, after having made the best Conditions he could with *Saladine*. This Insult so mortally disgusted *Leopold*, picqued already with Envy at the Glory and Reputation of *Richard*, that he afterwards took a severe Revenge, in detaining him Prisoner in his Return for *England*;

land; for *Richard*, in his Way Home, sailing with his Fleet up the *Adriatick* Gulph, landed in *Istria*, whence designing to pass Incognito by Land, he was discovered and perfidiously seiz'd, in Violation of the Laws of Hospitality, in the Territories of the Archduke of *Austria*, who basely delivered him into the Hands of his mortal Enemy the Emperor, by whom he was detained a Prisoner till 100000 *l.* Ransom delivered him; so vast a Sum for these Times, that the Church Plate of *England* was sold to raise the Money. After fifteen Months Imprisonment he returned Home, when he took a severe Revenge on his Brother *John*, by dispossessing him of all his Lands, for his turbulent Practices and ambitious Intrigues during his Absence: Afterwards besieging a Castle in *France* (whither one of his Subjects, who had found a great Treasure and refused to give him a Share, was fled) he was shot from the Walls by a Cross-bow, of which Wound in four Days he died; but the Place being immediately rendered, the Person, who wounded him, being brought into his Presence, was so far from repenting or making any Excuses, that, on the contrary, he justify'd the Action, declaring, he did it in Revenge of his Father and two Brothers, kill'd by

F 3 *Richard*:

Richard : The Fierceness and Insolence of this Declaration deserved a severer Return than what he found from the Generosity and Goodness of this great King, who not only releas'd, but gave him a hundred Shillings, with a Command that no-body should touch a Hair of his Head; but as soon as the Breath was out of the Body of *Richard*, his Friends thinking themselves obliged rather to follow the Dictates of Revenge, than obey the last Commands of their dying Prince, immediately seized the Wretch and flea'd him alive. Such was the End of this magnanimous *Richard* the first, from his Greatness of Mind and Courage, surnamed *Cœur de Lyon*, who not content to be known at Home, as if *Europe* were too narrow a Theatre for his Glory, by his Courage and great Enterprizes extended the Reputation and Terror of the *English* Arms to the remotest Parts of the East.

JOHN.

J O H N.

[1199.]

UPON the Death of *Richard*, his Brother *John*, defying the Right of his Nephew *Arthur*, Son to *Geofry* his elder Brother, leap'd into the Throne; it being high time now, according to the Custom of *England*, to have another Ufurpation, there having been already two lineal and lawful Successions: The Absence of the unfortunate *Arthur* gave an Opportunity to *John*, who was upon the Place, to possess himself of the Government, which he held by the same flagitious Means he acquired it, oppressing the Nobility, and invading the Liberties of the Church; which Enormities filled his Reign with a continued Series of Troubles and Confusions.

BUT the Crown was not so easily maintain'd as acquir'd; a great deal of Blood and Treasure must be first wasted, before there could be a firm Establishment of this unjust Possession: *Arthur* asserts his Right by Arms, flinging himself into the Protection of the *French* King, who by repeated Oaths and Protestations assures *Constance*, the Mother of *Arthur*,

never to abandon the Interest of her Son, till he had restored him to his just Inheritance. But we shall soon see the Effects of all these Rhodomontades: *John* was no sooner arrived in *Normandy* to defend that Dutchy, but the *French* King, bribed by the Condescensions of *John*, who yielded him a great Part of his Transmarine Territories, basely violates his Promises, and abandons the Interest of *Arthur*, whom he had so solemnly sworn to protect; by which we may see that Princes, unguided by Principles of Honour, often sacrifice their Glory to their Interest, by committing Actions which would be infamous in private Men.

UPON this, *John* thinking he could not too dearly purchase a Security of his usurp'd Title, returns with great Satisfaction into *England*, where he found not the same Temper in his People; the Nobility, highly disgusted at the mean Spirit of their Prince, remonstrate to him the Prejudice and Injury which the whole Nation sustained in the Loss of so great a Part of his Dominions, besides the Dishonour of this infamous Treaty with *France*; But they deserved this Usage for supporting a wrong Title; it not being easy to conceive that an Usurper, who is nly a Father-in-law, should look with
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the same Eye of Affection upon his Subjects as a lawful King, who is the natural Parent of his Country; the Truth of this Reflection is confirmed by frequent Examples in all Ages, by which we may see how often the Defect of a just Title is supported by the precarious Intruder, at the Expence not only of his own Honour, but the Safety, Interest and Welfare of the People. This scandalous Treaty, and other Violations of the Subjects Rights, made this Prince so despicable and hated, that the Nobility refused to follow him into *Normandy*, where *Arthur*, meeting with new Friends to support the Justice of his Cause, had renewed the War.

AT the same Time *Philip* of *France* with the same perfidious Levity breaks the Treaty between himself and King *John*, by re-assisting Prince *Arthur*; in which Affair he seemed to be now in earnest, by giving *Arthur* one of his Daughters in Marriage; the Links of Interest being much stronger than the Obligations of Honour and Generosity.

AT first *Arthur* carried all before him, possessing himself of several Towns in *Anjou* and *Tourain*, in one of which he took Prisoner *Eleanor*, his own Grandmother, and Mother to *John*, which Princess he treated with all imaginable Respect and
Duty,

Duty, more than she could expect at his Hands, after having so unjustly supported the Pretensions of her Son against the Right of her Grandson.

IN the mean while *John*, with what Power he could raise, sails over into *Normandy*, where strengthening his Army with more Forces, he came so suddenly on his Nephew *Arthur*, as to defeat him in Battle and take him Prisoner, the Sword of Justice at this Time being too weak for that of Oppression.

Arthur, thus unfortunately fallen into the Hands of his mortal Enemy, was committed to close Custody, after which he not long surviv'd; whether or no he broke his Neck from the Walls of a Castle, where he was confined, in endeavouring to make his Escape, as was given out, or else was sacrificed to the Security of the Tyrant's Ambition, is uncertain; but the most general Opinion is, that he was made away; it being not at all strange that an Usurper, and so wicked a Man, who had no more Conscience than to deprive him of his Hereditary Right, should as little scruple to take away his Life as his Crown.

AFTER this, thinking himself secure by the Death of his Rival, he meditates
Revenge

Revenge upon his undutiful Barons, whom he oppresses with all Manner of Violence, which compels them to take Arms and endeavour to reduce him to Reason; while *John*, to strengthen his Temporal Sword with the Authority of the Spiritual, sends to the Pope, and complains of his insolent Subjects: Upon which, the Pope finding some Interest in adhering to the King, unjustly sends him over an Absolution from all Covenants with his Subjects, whom he threatens with the Thunder of the Church for their Disobedience to their Prince: But it was not long before he fell out with the Pope himself, as well as his own Subjects, whom he now treats with the last Severity; having gathered an Army of *Poictouvins*, *Gascones*, and other *French*, which made him so superior in Strength, that the Barons were forced to fly for Refuge into *Scotland*, leaving their Castles to the Mercy of *John*, who raz'd them all to the Ground.

THE Nobility, thus distress'd, had but one Recourse, which was, to implore the Assistance of the *French* King, who, laying hold of this favourable Opportunity, sends over his Son *Lewis* with a powerful Army, whom the whole Nation, revolting from *John*, crown'd King at *London*:
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Here we cannot but take Notice of a vulgar Error in our common Chronicles, which falsely stile this *Lewis, Dolphin*; whereas in truth *Humbert Dolphin* of *Viennois* left not his Principality, till the Time of our *Edward* the third, to the Crown of *France*.

THIS Revolution could not have been so easily compass'd, if the Pope had not been as violent against *John*, as either *France* or his own Subjects; the Occasion of their Quarrel was a Dispute about the Election of an Archbishop of *Canterbury*; in which Affair the King's obstinate Resistance of the Papal Authority drew on his Head the Censures of the Church, which Misfortune alone, in that Age of Spiritual Tyranny, was enough to crush any Temporal Prince, without a Concurrence of other Dangers.

THIS Chain of Misfortunes reduced this unhappy King to such an ill Condition, that he was forced to abscond for a considerable Time, in which, having arm'd some Vessels, he turn'd Pirate and lived by Plunder, treating alike both Strangers and his own Subjects, whom he pursued with an implacable Revenge; till being at last reconciled to the Pope, by a base Submission of holding his Crown as a Fief of the See of *Rome*, he was restored
to

to his regal Dignity by that haughty Prelate, but not till he had humbled himself, by depositing his *Regalia* at the Feet of his Legate *Pandolphus*, upon which he waited three Days before the insolent Priest thought fit to restore his Crown. Upon this Submission was also recalled the Interdiction of the whole Kingdom, which had lasted six Years, to the great Inconvenience and Detriment of the People.

THE Pope, having gratified his Vanity by this Humiliation of a Sovereign Prince, now takes him into his Protection, and commands the *French* to molest no more the King of *England*, who had so dutifully reconciled himself to the See of *Rome*; tho' not long before he had commissioned the *French* King to be the Minister of his Apostolical Vengeance, in executing his Bulls of Excommunication against *John*, who now began to retrieve his Fortunes and get Ground of his Enemies, his Subjects beginning to return to their Duty, when they saw him released from the Censures of the Church. And now he was in a fair Way of recovering his Crown, when an unexpected Accident put an End both to his Hopes and his Life: As he passed the Washes between *Norfolk* and *Lincolnshire*, a sudden Irruption

tion of the Sea drowned Part of his Army, and destroy'd all his Baggage, Furniture, and Carriages, which Misfortune touch'd him so sensibly, that he soon after died with Grief; tho' some Writers have affirmed, that he was poison'd by a Monk of *Swinstead* Abbey; which Way soever he died, the Catastrophe was suitable to the rest of his Life, which was a constant Scene of Violence, Blood, and Calamities, the common Fruits of Tyranny and Usurpation.

THO' no King of *England* has made a worse Figure in Story than this unhappy Prince, we ought not however to receive, with an implicit Faith, all that has been committed to Posterity concerning him; the Writers of these Times, being all Clergymen, were his mortal Enemies, and we find not but that Order of Men, being no less susceptible of Revenge than other People, scruple as little to invent any Stories for their own Advantage, or to blacken the Reputation of their Enemies; of this Nature, till we have better Authority, we will conclude the Story, that this King should send to a *Saracen* Prince in *Spain* to invite him to his Assistance, upon which Condition he would oblige himself to marry his Daughter, and turn *Mahometan*: Besides this, there are several other

other Stories of the like nature, which, if true, are convincing Proofs of his being abandoned to the last Impiety.

H E N R Y III.

[1226.]

UPON the Death of *John*, his Son *Henry*, an Infant of nine Years old, was immediately proclaim'd King by that Party which adhered to his Father: This was no small Surprize to *Lewis*, who thought himself secured by the Death of his Rival King *John*; but not long after being defeated at the Battle of *Lincoln*, he was forced to capitulate, and upon the Receipt of 15000 Marks, immediately abjure all Pretence to the Crown of *England*; after which he returned into *France*: Upon this, the publick Tranquillity was every-where restored, after so many Convulsions in the preceding Reign: So that now appeared nothing but a Prospect of future Peace and Happiness, the People being universally united to their young King, not only by the Bonds of Duty, but Interest, notwithstanding their Affections had been so alienated from his Father; the

the *English* not being arrived to that Height of Injustice, to think the Miscarriages of *John* ought to prejudice the Right and Innocence of *Henry*. During the Minority of this King, Affairs were managed with great Prudence and Justice, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Pembroke*, who had the Title of Protector; but as soon as the young *Henry* took the Reins into his own Hands, the Difference was visible between the Maxims of Prudence and Justice, and the giddy Unsteadiness of a rash young Man carried away by every Passion; his first Miscarriage was the Revocation of the Forest Charters, and other Immunities granted to his Subjects, on pretence that they were extorted from him by the Necessities of his Minority; but that which most of all disgusted the Nobility was, the great Countenance and Favour which he shewed to Foreigners, by giving them *English* Titles and Estates; especially upon his making one *Walleran*, a *Dutchman*, Keeper of *Berkhamstead* Castle: This so enraged the Great Lords, that they immediately took Arms, which they declared they would not lay down, till the King should remove the *Dutchman*, and restore the Castle to *Richard* Earl of *Cornwall*, who had been displaced before, I am sorry to ob-

observe, the same thing has happen'd in our own Days : We have seen a *Dutchman* loaded with Posts, Grants and Honours, without the same Resentment. This peremptory Message startled the King, and obliged him to sacrifice his Affections to his own and the Interest of his People ; so jealous were the *English* at this Time of any Partiality in their Prince towards those, whom the Wisdom of our Laws has not put upon the same Foot with Natives ; but in this Point of Submission to Foreigners, their degenerate Posterity have been much tamer than their brave Progenitors.

THE King's Condescensions to the Request of his People, calmed these Com-motions for the present ; but they soon after broke out again, upon his resuming the same violent Courses ; for now upon his Marriage with *Eleanor*, Daughter to *Raymond* Earl of *Provence*, with which Lady he had no Portion, no Manner of Interest or great Alliance, there came over such Swarms of poor *Provincals*, as were very burdensome to the People, who out of their own Necessities must contribute to the Maintenance of these unnecessary Strangers : This obliged the Nobility to confederate again, in order to redress this Grievance, which was so intolerable, that one *Foulk de Brent* held at

one Time no less than four Earldoms, *Nottingham, Oxford, Buckingham, and Bedford.*

BUT the King, more stubborn now than before, instead of giving the Barons Satisfaction upon their Remonstrances, sends over for more Strangers to support his Injustice, and outlaws the Lords for Disobedience and Contumacy: These unwarrantable and arbitrary Measures make the Defection more general, and increase the Strength of the Nobility, who at last reduce him to such Necessities, that he was forced to send supplicatory Letters to private and inconsiderable Men to borrow contemptible Sums of Money; declaring, it was more Charity to relieve him, than a Beggar at the Door: To such Necessities are ill Princes reduced, whose unjustifiable Actions make them unworthy the Affections and Assistance of their People; for the whole Reign of this King was an intermittent Distemper in the Body Politick, occasion'd by Male-administration. This ill Conduct, thro' a Want of Genius, made him so little in the Eyes of his People, that *Simon de Montfort* had the Impudence in a Dispute to give him the Lie; in which Insolence he was protected by the Nobility then present from the King's just Resentment, who commanded he should

should be driven out of his Doors: Such a Violation of Majesty, unknown to poster Ages, very much reflects on the Manners of this Time. The whole Reign of this Prince was filled with continual Broils between the Crown and the Nobility, who perhaps in some Cases might be as much to blame as the King; a Spirit of Faction making them as untractable and insolent in some things, as the King was arbitrary and unreasonable in others.

BUT all these Troubles were at last appeased by his Confirmation of the Great Charter granted by his Father: This Solemnity was perform'd with the greatest Ceremony imaginable, the Infringers being curs'd by Bell, Book, and Candle. After this Assurance given to his People, he enjoy'd that Quiet in his Old Age which his Weakness and ill Conduct had deny'd to his Youth, dying at last in a Calm, who had lived all his Life in a Storm, after a Reign of fifty-six Years; the longest of any Prince that ever sat on the Throne of *England*.

EDWARD I.

[1272.]

TO whom succeeded *Edward*, the first of that Name since the Conquest ; whose Genius, Courage, and other shining Qualities received a greater Lustre from the contrary Imperfections in his Father and Predecessor : *Edward* was in the Holy Land at the Time of his Father's Death, the News of which he met in his Journey homeward, being accompany'd by his charming and beloved Wife, Queen *Eleanor*, a Princess of extraordinary Virtues, and particularly renowned for the Greatest in a Wife, her Conjugal Piety ; of which she gave a convincing Testimony ; when *Edward*, wounded in *Palestine* by an invenom'd Knife, was despair'd of by his Physicians, she apply'd her Mouth to the Orifice of the Wound and suck'd out the Poison, thus preserving the Life of her Lord with the imminent Hazard of her own.

Edward being arrived in Safety, after having signaliz'd his Courage and Prowess in a Tournament as he passed through *France*, by his good Government at first gave his Subjects all the promising Hopes of an auspicious Reign ; for he redressed
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all the Grievances of which they complain'd, and confirm'd the Privileges granted by his Predecessors; and had not the Stain of Cruelty towards his Enemies, the *Welsh* and *Scots*, defaced the Reputation of his other Virtues, he wanted no Quality to compleat the Hero: But tho' this unmanly Passion seldom dwells in the same Breast with Courage, being commonly the Result of Fear; yet this Thirst of Revenge sprung from some other Motive in this Prince, than whom no Man was ever more intrepid.

THE first Occasion of drawing his Sword was against the *Welsh*, who, endeavouring to free their Country from the *English* Tyranny, were revolted; in this War *Leoline* the last Prince of Royal *British* Blood was slain, and his Brother *David* taken and executed; after which both their Heads, in Derision crown'd with Ivy, were set on the Tower of *London*; too barbarous a Treatment of sovereign Princes.

THE Reduction of *Wales* was no sooner settled, but *Edward* was involved in a more troublesome Affair; a Quarrel, which not only lasted his whole Life, but sow'd such Seeds of Rancour and Animosity between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland*, as remain'd for several Generations,

ons, till a happy Period was put to this fatal Feud by an Union of the two Crowns in the Beginning of the last Century; a Blessing, which the Stupidity and Ingratitude of a certain Faction has made both Nations not deserve.

The Death of the King of *Scotland* at this Time, without Issue, made a great Competition for the Crown; among the numerous Pretenders *Bruce* and *Baliol* stood the fairest, of whose Title *Edward*, by a pretended Superiority over that Kingdom, challeng'd the Decision; in order to which he first offered the Crown to *Bruce* (who was look'd upon not to have the better Pretence) on condition he would hold it from the Crown of *England*: But the gallant Prince, rejecting the ignominious Offer, would not sacrifice to his own Ambition the Honour and Rights of his Country; by which Greatness of Spirit he deserved a Crown so much more, as he desired it less, than his Competitor *Baliol*, who, more greedy of the Bauble, accepted the Conditions, and by the Power of *Edward* was placed on the Throne, doing Homage to the Donor according to the Agreement: This Condescension in *Baliol* destroy'd him in the Esteem of his People, and on the other hand raised their Veneration for the Virtues of his Rival.

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BUT it was not long before he himself was disgusted at *Edward* for summoning him to appear, as a Delinquent, in his Courts of Justice; with which Order tho' he had no more Spirit but to comply, however this Indignity left such a Sting in his Mind, as soon after burst into open Resentment upon his Return; the Consequences of which were an open Defiance of *Edward*, by a Renunciation of the Fealty sworn before: This Conduct of the *Scot* involved the two Nations in a bloody War, in which *Edward* successful overruns the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and brings the mean-spirited *Baliol* to fresh Terms of Submission; nevertheless he sent him Prisoner into *England*, and then returned himself, leaving *Scotland* in a perfect State of Subjection, under the Government of those whom he appointed to preside. Here we cannot but reflect how so poor and ill-peopled a Country, as *Scotland*, could so long resist the Riches, Numbers, and Force of *England*, which lying nearer to the Sun has all the Advantages of a more southern Situation, Fertility of Soil, Plenty of Provisions, more Hands to fight, and more Money to pay them. After this Consideration, we must ascribe the noble Defence which they have made in all Ages to the Courage and Bravery of the

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People;

People, especially the Nobility and Gentry, who without dispute have been a very gallant Race ; till within a Century and half, the *Scotch* Nation imbibed that wretched Spirit of Enthusiasm, so destructive to all Principles of Honour, and incompatible with human Society, the horrid Doctrines of deposing and murdering Kings, which laid to the Charge of the *Jesuits* are even deny'd by that Order, being the avow'd Principles of the rigid *Presbyterians*.

HERE we shall soon see an Instance of this Bravery, and how great an Effort the Resolution of one gallant Man can make ; this was the famous *William Wallace*, a private Gentleman, but of a good Family, who, commiserating the deplorable Condition of his Country, gathered together at first some few Persons, whom the like Ardour and Resolution, inspired by a Love of Liberty, made Companions of his glorious Enterprize : With these few Troops the Hero, like another *Gustavus Ericson*, fally'd from the Mountains and Fastnesses, and with a Fortune equal to that of the illustrious *Swede*, almost drove the Enemy out of his Country, by giving the *English* many notable Defeats ; till *Edward* came himself with a new Army, but his old Fortune, which put a Stop to
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the Current of these Victories, and defeated the *Scots* at the Battle of *Fonkirk*, with a Slaughter of 40000 on their Side, as our Writers report : But we must not too easily give Credit to Historians in this one Point, who through Partiality always extenuate the Advantages of their Enemies, and magnify their own, a Disingenuity as often found among the *Scotch* Historians as the *English*; but this Fault is more excusable in common Writers, who take their Accounts on Trust, because there is nothing in which the Incurious at first Sight are more apt to be deceived, than Numbers of Men, either living or dead.

THE gallant *Wallace* himself escaped from this Rout; reserved, tho' not for so honourable, yet not an inglorious End, which can never be infamous when we die for our Country : This poor Gentleman, being afterwards taken Prisoner, was inhumanly sacrificed to the brutal Revenge of the Conqueror, being executed at *London* with all Marks of Ignominy and Cruelty, for no other Crime but the Assertion of that Liberty which the Laws of God and Nature have given Mankind a Right to defend : Nor had the Fury of *Edward* any more Deference for Royal Blood; the Brothers of *Robert Bruce*, who
now

now had assum'd the Crown of *Scotland*, being taken in Battle, were with equal Barbarity put to death : One of these Princes was a Priest, the Sanctity of whose Profession could no more defend him than the Nobility of his Blood ; for so implacable was this Prince in his Revenge, that even the Complaisance which Nature has implanted in all Creatures towards the gentler Sex, could not make him have any Consideration for a Lady of great Quality, who, only for assisting at *Bruce's* Coronation, was hung in a wooden Cage over the Walls of *Berwick* for a Spectacle to the insolent Rabble : By such Cruelties as these did this great Man eclipse that Glory, which otherwise would have so shin'd in Story.

THE Conquest of *Scotland* was so much on the Spirit of this Prince, that in his last Expedition into that Kingdom he commanded his Son Prince *Edward*, in case he should miscarry, never to desist till he had entirely subdued that obstinate People ; and for a greater Terror to his Enemies, as if his dead Dust could retain the Virtues of the living Conqueror, he gave Orders that his Body should not be buried, but always carried about with the Army, till *Scotland* should by Conquest be annexed to the Crown of *England* ; which might with Ease
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have been effected at this Time, if the young *Edward* had inherited the Courage and other great Qualities of his Father: But this was ordained by the Wisdom of Providence to be upon more sure and lasting Foundations.

E D W A R D II.

[1307.]

ACCORDING to his own Prefages King *Edward* died in this Expedition, leaving his Crown, but not his Spirit, to his Son *Edward* of *Carnarvan*, who proving a weak and effeminate Prince, thought it more agreeable to sacrifice the Flower of his Youth to his Ease and Pleasure, than to the Obedience of his Father's Commands: But tho' this *Edward* the second was voluptuous and ungovernable, in the main he was a harmless good-natur'd Prince, unworthy the ill Treatment he found in the whole Course of his Life, especially the dismal Catastrophe at last.

BUT it has most commonly been the Fate of our *English* Kings to be, by alternate Succession, happy and unhappy, of which Vicissitude their own Vices or Virtues

tues have not been the sole and immediate Causes; some having been happy who ought to have been unfortunate, and others unhappy who deserved to be the most fortunate of Mankind.

BUT we cannot find any Thing in the Life of this Prince to give him the Character of a Tyrant, or very ill Man; his Fondness of his Minions, which resulted from the Violence of his Passions and the Want of Dissimulation, were the only and undoubted Causes of his Ruin; but as this Inclination was center'd on one Object, it was certainly more supportable, tho' some Inconveniencies might attend, if the brutal Nobility at this Time had shew'd the least Complaisance for the Satisfaction of their Prince.

WHEN we consider all the Circumstances, we shall not find his Fondness for *Pierce Gaveston* so very culpable or void of Reason, when we reflect that the Father of this Gentleman had done the Crown of *England* particular Services in the Wars with *France*, in Recompence of which Merit, his Son was bred a Page to the Prince of *Wales*; Equality of Age, of Dispositions and Tempers, a Resemblance of Manners, and a constant Habit of Life together, could not chuse but lay the Foundations of a lasting Friendship: To these
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must be added the personal Merits of *Gaveston*, who was qualified in every respect to be the Favourite of a Prince, being one of the most handsome and best accomplish'd Gentlemen of *Europe* at this Time, *adroit* in all his Exercises, of a winning and engaging Behaviour when he had a Mind to be civil, of a sprightly and enterprizing Genius, with a great and ready Wit, which did him no Good, being too often vented, not less at his own, than the Expence of his Enemies ; perfectly brave in his Person, and magnificent to a Fault in his Cloaths, Furniture and Equipage ; more polite and elegant in his Way of living, than consisted with the Simplicity and Negligence of the Age and Country in which he lived ; but withal, too fierce and insolent in his Temper, with all the Vanity of his Country, being by Birth a *Gasconne* : The Splendor of so many great Accomplishments could not fail to raise the Envy of the *English* Barons, especially when they saw themselves all worsted in a Tournament at *Wallingford*, by the Address and Courage of *Gaveston* : This Disgrace made them confederate, in order to his Removal, not only from the King's Person but the Kingdom. To accomplish this Design, they sent to *Edward* an insolent Message to require the Performance of his Father's Will,

Will, who had banish'd *Gaveston* upon a Jealousy that he debauched the Manners of the Prince: But *Edward*, now King, and at full Years of Discretion, having exceeded the Age at which the Law of *England* supposes Men able to govern themselves, thought he had as much Power to keep whom he pleased about his Person, as his Father had to drive them away: However, he thought to amuse them a little till his Coronation, by keeping his Favourite in private; but at this Ceremony *Gaveston* appeared in his Meridian Lustre: This so enraged the Barons, that in the following Parliament they address the King again to remove his Favourite: With this unreasonable Violence *Edward* was forced to comply: However to sweeten the Chagrine of this Separation, he sends him into *Ireland* with some Kind of Authority. Here *Gaveston* behaved himself so well as to acquire an universal Reputation; he repell'd the *Irish*, built Forts and Castles to secure the Conquests of the *English* and the Peace of the Country, with several Actions worthy a great and prudent Governor.

THE Fame of these Exploits being brought into *England*, made the King venture to recall him, in Hopes that this Rancour and Animosity in the Barons would be

be now cool'd by Time and Absence ; and in order to disengage some great Men from the other Party, by allying his Favourite to their Families, he marries him to the Daughter of the Earl of *Gloucester*, the most popular Person in the Kingdom, with the Approbation of the Father and the Affections of the young Lady.

BUT tho' this Match had the expected Success in attaching the Earl to the Interest of his Son-in-law ; yet it ten times more exasperated the rest of the Lords, to see a Man whom they so mortally hated thus advanced to new Honours and Riches by so considerable an Accession to his Fortune : This made them remonstrate to the King with so much Fury and Violence, that he was oblig'd once more to comply with the Banishment of a Person, whom these brutal Persecutions made only the dearer. Here we cannot but reflect on the different Tempers and Notions of the same People in different Ages ; we see this ancient Nobility so unreasonably stubborn, as to violate the Duty they owed their Prince, and sacrifice the publick Tranquillity to their own Resentments ; whereas in succeeding Times we find the same Order of Men in the other Extream, as supple and mean-spirited, fawn on worthless Minions without the Merits and Pretensions of

of *Gaveston*, thinking it an Honour to wait at their Levies, and partake at second-hand the Lustre and Warmth which the Favourite derives from the Prince.

Gaveston, after having been some time abroad, returns into *England* to the Arms of his Master, who thinking to put him in a Place of Security, leaves him in *Scarborough* Castle. This was no sooner known, but the Nobility invest the Place, and compel him to surrender on Conditions of Life and Safety: But not long after another Party taking him away, by a pretended Violence, from the Persons to whom he had surrendered himself, without any legal Process, or further Ceremony, chop off his Head, notwithstanding that *Edward*, upon Notice of his being made a Prisoner, had sent a Message in his Behalf, so moving as to have made Impression on any Breasts susceptible of Pity, tho' from an inferior Suppliant; much more from their Prince, to whom they lay under the highest Obligations of Complaisance, Duty, and Obedience; but the surly Barons were inexorable.

THIS Indignity offered to the Authority of the King could not fail to fill him with all the Resentment such a Violence deserved: But the Necessity of his Affairs forced him to smother his Passion for the present;

present ; for at this time the *Scots*, taking the Advantage of these Misunderstandings, not only recover their Country, but invade the North of *England*; upon which *Edward* raises a very puissant Army to repel the Enemy and carry the War to their own Doors; but through the Dissensions of the Great Men, and the ill Blood between the King and his Barons, the Success answered not the Expectation; the factious Nobility, not caring whether they were beaten themselves, so the King did not conquer, suffer'd him to be defeated at the fatal Battle of *Bannocks-Bourne*, which was the greatest Loss of Men and Honour that the *English* Nation ever sustain'd; the *Scotch* Historians say fifty thousand, and our own acknowledge ten, between both we may proportion a Medium; the King himself escaped, and through the Necessity of his Affairs soon after was forced to make a Truce with the *Scots* : Upon this a Parliament was call'd, in which the Differences between the King and the Lords were happily adjusted, *Edward* giving his Charter of Pardon to all Delinquents, and the Barons renewing their Allegiance by new Oaths of Fidelity.

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BUT it was not long before this Sunshine was over-cast by the restless Spirit of these Lords, who began now to be as much dissatisfy'd with the Favours which the King shew'd to the two *Spencers*, as before to *Gaveston*; the younger *Spencer* was a Gentleman of great Accomplishments both of Body and Mind, and was first placed about the King's Person by the Recommendation of the Lords themselves, for no other Reason, but because they knew he was not very agreeable to him; but in a little time, through his Address and Merit, he so insinuated himself into the Affection of his Master, as to be particularly distinguish'd, which made him a new Object of Envy; for now they renew their former Insolence, and peremptorily require the King to banish both Father and Son; the King, tho' justly provoked with the Insolence of this Demand, mildly sent them Word, *That it was unreasonable, as well as unjust, to punish Men unheard for Crimes of which they were not convicted; that the Father was abroad already in publick Employments, and the Son at his Post in the Country (being Warden of the Cinque-Ports.)* This Answer from the King would not satisfy the seditious Nobility, who come armed to *London* and renew their Demands. With this Violence through
Inability

Inability to help himself was *Edward* forc'd to comply, and by Ediēt banish the *Spencers*, whose only Crime was the Favour and Bounty of their Master.

BUT not long after, this Ediēt of Banishment was annull'd by a solemn Council of the Bishops and the more temperate Nobility, as being illegal and unjust ; upon which, the Exiles returning Home, the Lords immediately flew to Arms: This obliged the King to raise Forces and assert his Right, it seeming absolutely necessary now to vindicate his violated Majesty from these repeated Indignities ; the Success of his Arms was answerable to the Justice of his Cause, he defeats his rebellious Barons, and takes the Ringleaders Prisoners, of whom the Earl of *Lancaster* his near Kinsman was Chief, who shortly with several others was justly executed : This was the first Noble Blood drawn by the Hands of the Hangman since the *Norman* Conquest, but the reiterated Revolts of these contumacious Lords, whom no former Mercies could reclaim, seem to justify the Necessity of this Precedent : The *English* after this having once found the Way, follow'd this Example with too great Severity, there being more Noble Blood shed upon the Scaffold in a few following Reigns in *England* alone, than all the Christian World beside ;

beside; in this one Point, tho' we want a great many of their Virtues, we are not quite so cruel as our Ancestors.

AFTER this Success, one would have thought that *Edward* might have promis'd himself Rest and Security; when by a certain Fatality almost inseparable from the Number of his Title, he was born to be unfortunate; it being observable, that most of our *English* Kings since the Conquest, who have been the second of their Name, have been either depos'd, murder'd, or at least afflicted with great Calamities by the Hands of those who were the most obliged by the Bonds of Nature, the Ties of Blood, Honour, Conscience, and Gratitude, not only to have done them no Injury, but to have defended, with the Hazard of their own, those Lives and Crowns they took away: This was the Case of unfortunate *Edward*, who was not destin'd to be ruin'd by the Faction of his turbulent Nobility, but by nearer and domestick Enemies; his Queen *Isabel*, who was Sister to the *French* King, either through some Disgust she had conceived against *Edward*, or as others say sent by him, goes with her young Son Prince *Edward* into *France* where living in the Court of her Brother she openly shew'd her ill Intentions to her Husband,

Husband, her Affections being alienated by the exceeding Passion she had entertain'd for the Person of *Mortimer*, a very handsome young Nobleman, who now was fled over to her, whom, besides several other discontented Persons, she publicly countenances, making herself the Head of the Malecontents: These surprising Measures of the Queen could not but astonish the King, who commands her immediately to return, and upon Refusal proclaims her an Enemy to the State. This undutiful Behaviour of a Wife towards her Husband must certainly be a greater Aggravation to the Misfortunes of *Edward*, than the Disobedience of others who were not under such immediate Obligations of Respect and Duty; nothing penetrating so deep, as ill Returns from those, at whose Hands we are conscious to have deserved better.

THIS infamous Character of a Queen will serve for a Foil to illustrate the contrary Virtues of a great Princess under the same Obligations and Circumstances of Life, who was so far from contributing to the Misfortunes of the King her Husband, that, if his good Genius had inspired him to have follow'd the safer Councils which she gave, his Afflictions, in human Probability, might have been prevented;

nor has she shew'd less the Lustre of her Virtues in Exile than Majesty when on the Throne, it being hard to decide which Part she has best perform'd, the Queen, or the Wife; but what Fate soever shall attend her Pretensions to her Dower, she will leave to Posterity an inimitable Example of Conjugal Piety, and all other Virtues, that have so justly made her the Honour and Ornament of her Sex.

To return to our Story: *Isabel*, seeing that the King her Brother, who had found her Complaints and Pretences frivolous, would no longer support so infamous a Cause, as that of a Wife, Son, and Subject, against a Husband, King, and Father, retires with the young Prince into the Territories of the Earl of *Hainault*, to whose Daughter *Philippa* she contracted him in Marriage; upon which she was assisted by that Prince with 2000 Men, to protect her against the Power of the Favourites, who, as she pretended, had alienated the King's Affections from her: But we shall soon see what Use she will make of these Troops; for she was no sooner landed but she immediately erects her Standard, and summons the factious Nobility to her Assistance, who flocking to her Ensigns made her Army so considerable, that the King was forced to

to retreat, seeing the Inclinations of the *Londoners*, who are seldom on the right Side, devoted to his Enemies; but notwithstanding the Universality of the Defection, Persons of greatest Probity and Virtue adher'd to the King, but their Numbers were too inconsiderable to oppose the Torrent of the Times; among these was *Walter Stapleton* Bishop of *Exeter*, who falling into the Hands of the *Londoners*, tho' renown'd for his Piety and other Virtues, was murdered by the Fury of the Rabble for his Fidelity to his Prince.

Edward, thus pursu'd by the Storm, thought to save himself in the Isle of *Lundee*, depending upon the natural Strength of so inaccessible a Place; but driven by contrary Winds on the Coast of *Glamorganshire*, he took Sanctuary in *Neath* Abbey, where being discovered, he was made a Prisoner; it not being at all strange, that this Queen should be no more tender of his Liberty than his Honour, which she had violated, as well as her own, by a criminal Conversation with *Mortimer*.

WITH the King was taken the younger *Spencer*, and immediately hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd; his Father, an Old Man, made venerable by more than 90 Years, underwent the same Fate before, with

this Aggravation of the Cruelty, that his Heart was torn from his Bosom while alive, as a Sacrifice to the Rage of this implacable Woman. Thus ended the unfortunate Reign of *Edward* the second, being soon after depos'd by a Convention of the States, but not till he had first made a solemn and formal Resignation of his Crown to his Son the Prince; so necessary was this Act of the King's thought, even at this wicked Juncture, to give a Sanction in disposing of the Crown of *England*.

Edward, having stipulated upon his Renunciation for Liberty and the Conveniences of Life, was nevertheless detain'd a Prisoner, and treated with all manner of Hardships and Indignities, in Hopes that the Inconveniences he suffer'd, or the Repentment of them, would put an End to his unfortunate Days; but when they found, the Greatness of his Spirit, or the Goodness of his Constitution, made all their Attempts unsuccessful, they proceeded to the last Experiment; for having dismiss'd his first Keepers, who were not staunch enough to obey all their Orders, they committed his Person to the Custody of two execrable Rogues, who murdered this poor Prince with most exquisite Tortures, by running a red hot Iron into his Body thro' the Passages of Nature,

left

lest any external Marks of Violence should appear.

SUCH was the Catastrophe of *Edward*, who, as I have observed before, could not deserve so harsh an Usage from the Hands of his Subjects, whose Liberties he never subverted; so that his only Crime was, being too susceptible of a Passion, which as it can only grow in noble and generous Natures, so the least of it is to be found in the Country where he had the Misfortune to be a King.

E D W A R D III.

[1327.]

WE shall now come to a Reign of greater Lustre and Glory, in which the *English* Nation made a very considerable Figure in the World, under the auspicious Government of the fortunate Successor to unhappy *Edward*; the shining Qualities of this illustrious Prince make him seem worthy of a more just Initiation into the Government, than what was founded on the Deposition, and cemented with the Blood of his Father; but tho' he had no actual Share of Guilt as to the last, yet

yet the Measures he took before are so unjustifiable as not to be excused by the Tendernefs of his Age: *Froysart* affirms him to be eighteen at that Time; but our own Historians make him somewhat younger; however, the least Age entitles him to a Distinction of Good and Evil. To wipe off this Stain, he punish'd afterwards the Authors of his Father's Death; for he not only disseized the Queen his Mother of her Jointure, but confin'd her for Life; her Gallant *Mortimer*, dragg'd out of her Arms, was hang'd at the publick Place of Execution; but we do not find any particular Punishment inflicted on the infamous Bishop of *Hereford*, who was the chief Contriver of the King's Death, as well as the greatest Manager of the late Revolution; an insolent, factious, scandalous, turbulent Priest, such another as we have known in our own Days, tho' not an *English* Man, but of a neighbouring Country, which has only added a little more Insincerity to his other ill Qualities.

THE first Attempts were not the most auspicious of this Reign; for the *Scots* encompass'd by the *English* Army, when in human Probability they could not escape, by the Treachery of *Mortimer* were freed from this Danger, for which Service he received a great Sum of Money, as was proved

proved among his other Crimes afterward at his Arraignment: Thus the divine Vengeance overtook this Wretch before he could enjoy the Fruits of his Villany, in raising the Rebellion against *Edward*, and compassing that impious Revolution: The Death of *Mortimer* was an Act of Justice; but there was another Execution which will very much prejudice the good Opinion of this young King; his Uncle *Edmond* Earl of *Kent*, a Prince of great Virtue and Reputation, for only shewing some Sentiments of Tendernefs and Humanity towards his dethron'd Brother, was condemn'd to lose his Head, even after the Death of *Edward* the second, when there could be no Danger or the least Apprehension; in order to this Execution, this Prince stood six Hours on the Scaffold, till almost Night, before any one could be found to perform the ungrateful Office; till at last a condemn'd Malefactor, to save his own forfeited Life, was persuaded with much difficulty to take away another's; a wonderful Instance of Affection in the People, who held his Memory so dear, that they reputed him a Saint after his Death.

ABOUT this Time happen'd an Accident, which laid the Foundation of all *Edward's* Glory, by giving him an Occasion to carry his Arms into *France*, where his great
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and signal Victories have given eternal Lustre to his Name, and Honour to his Country.

THE *French* King, *Charles* the *Fair*, dying without Issue, except a Daughter, there were two Competitors, *Philip* of *Valois* and *Edward* of *England*; *Edward*, Nephew to the deceas'd King by his Mother, had the nearer Title, but excluded by the *Salique* Law, which prefer'd *Philip*, being of the Male Line, tho' remoter; however *Edward*, after some Dispute, permitted his Rival quietly to ascend the Throne, and soon after, being summon'd, went over, and with great Solemnity did Homage to the new King of *France* for the Territories held of that Crown: This Acknowledgment of the other's Right seems to prejudice very much any future Pretensions of his own; however *Edward* dissembled for the present the Picque which he conceiv'd for this forc'd Submission, till a fitter Opportunity of Resentment, which was not very long wanting; for as nothing is more easy than to find an Occasion of quarrelling, so a plausible Pretence soon offer'd it self to *Edward*; the Death of some *Britons*, executed in *France* for a Correspondence with the *English*, was laid hold on by the King
of

of *England*, to break the Peace and make War on *France*.

BUT first we must look back on the Affairs of *Scotland*, with which Kingdom *Edward* had been engag'd by Intervals ever since his Accession to the Throne; the Disorders in that Country, occasion'd by the Pretences of *Edward Baliol*, who had renewed the Claim of his Family to that Crown, gave an Opportunity to *Edward* of intermedling in their Affairs; in the Beginning of the War he had besieg'd *Berwick*, at which Time the Writers of the *Scotch* History fix an indelible Mark of Infamy on the Memory of this Prince, by affirming, that the Town being reduced to an Extremity, the gallant *Seaton*, who was Governor, beat a Parley, in which it was agreed that the Town, if not succoured by the *Scots* in fifteen Days, should be deliver'd to the *English* at the Expiration of that Time; for Security of the Performance, a young Gentleman, Son to the Governor, was given in Hostage; before the Day prefix'd, the *Scotch* Army appear'd in Sight, which gave Courage to the Defendants, and mortify'd the Besiegers: Upon this, *Edward* sent Word to the Governor, that if he did not immediately surrender the Place, he would not only hang the Hostage,

tage, but also another of his Sons who was a Prisoner of War in the *English* Camp; accordingly he order'd a Gibbet to be erected in Sight of the Walls; Sir *Alexander Seaton* surpriz'd with the Barbarity of this Message, sent to expostulate the Matter, by telling him that the Time agreed for the Surrender of the Town was not yet expired by so many Days; nothing would satisfy *Edward*, but an immediate Surrender: While the Governor thus embarrass'd found a terrible Conflict in his Mind, between the natural Affection to his Children, and the Duty he ow'd to his Prince and Country, his Wife the Lady *Seaton*, a Woman worthy the Admiration of all Ages, came to him and remonstrated, that she was young enough to bring him more Children, but not another *Berwick*, and that it was an indispensable Duty in every one to devote his private Interest to that of the Publick. The Governor, thus fortify'd by the Resolution of his Wife, sacrificed the Affections of a Parent to the Duty of a good Subject, and so had the Mortification to see his innocent Children put to Death; an Act of Barbarity, if true, that all the other great Actions of *Edward* can never deface: The *Scotch* Historians so universally assert the Truth of this Story, that

we

we cannot positively affirm the contrary ; but since our own Writers have not thought fit to mention a Passage so destructive to the Honour of this great King, I will leave it doubtful to the Reader ; tho' we shall find in the subsequent Part of this Reign other Examples of Cruelty, which Vice this Prince seems rather to have derived from his Grandfather *Edward* the first, than his Father.

FROM hence we must remove to a noble Scene, the War with *France*, in which the glorious Success of the *English* Arms seem'd to lay the Foundations of a mighty Empire, if our Prudence and Conduct had been equal to our Courage ; but, like *Annibal*, we know better how to acquire the Victory, than to preserve the Conquest.

THE most memorable Battle fought in this War was that of *Crecy* ; the *French* Army was double in Number to the *English*, and commanded by their own King in Person, attended by the greatest Captains of that Age, among whom were several Sovereign Princes, who that Day fought under the Banners of *France* ; to which must be added the vast Number of Nobility who compos'd the *French* Cavalry ; to the Goodness of which Body, the *French* Monarchy seems not only to owe

owe her Rise, but the Establishment of her present Greatness ; besides, they were at Home in their own Country, furnish'd with all Manner of Necessaries, the Want of which very much straighten'd the Enemy : These extraordinary Advantages gave the *French* that fatal Assurance, which contributed so much to the Loss of this Day : Their own Historians ascribe the Miscarriage to the Rashness and ungovernable Temper of *Charles* Count of *Alançon*, Brother to King *Philip*, who, just as the Armies were ready to engage, by changing the Order of Battle, and removing the *Genoese* from the Front to the Rear, in Contempt of that Nation, made so great a Confusion in the Army, as gave the *English* an Opportunity to break Men already disordered with greater Facility ; however it was, whether Fate or ill Conduct, there never was a more memorable Victory obtain'd by the *English* Nation, who seldom had a greater Occasion to exert their Courage than at this Time, being charged with so much Fury by the *French* Cavalry. The Writers of this Action tell a Story of King *Edward* in this Battle, which is rather an unaccountable Instance of Rashness than true Conduct ; that Word being brought him by an *Aid de Camp*, that the Black Prince his Son, who

who commanded one Wing of the Army, was overpowered by the Number of the Enemy, and in Danger of perishing, if not timely relieved; the King, having first demanded whether his Son was alive or no, bad the Person go back and tell him, he must owe his Safety to his own Courage, and expect no Succour from him; for he design'd the Honour of the Day should be his; an odd Piece of Policy, which even Success could not justify, inconsistent with the Tenderness of a Father, and the Prudence of a great General; for Experience shews us, how many great Advantages have been lost, and even the Fortune of the Day turn'd, for want of a timely Support where it was necessary.

IN this Battle was destroyed the Flower of the *French* Nobility, among which Number was the Count of *Alanson* himself, whose Rashness was so fatal to the Honour and Interest of his Country: *Philip* himself had his Horse slain under him, upon which retiring from the Fight, he discourag'd his own Men, and contributed to the speedier Victory of the Enemy.

THUS was this great Day at *Crecy*, so famous in our *English* Chronicles, obtained by the Arms of the *Black Prince*, under the Command of his Father King *Edward*, who would have been immortal
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in Story, if he had no other Recommendation to Fame than the Honour of begetting so great a Son, who possess'd all his Virtues without any Mixture of his Vices, his Greatness of Mind without Ambition, his Courage without Rashness, his Justice without Cruelty, his Resentment without Revenge, his Discipline without Rigour, and his Authority without his Fierceness: To all which great Qualities must be added a wonderful Affability and Sweetness of Temper, which engaged the Affections of Mankind, and made the untimely Loss of this incomparable Prince, who died before his Father, so much more deplorable.

ABOUT this Time, for a greater Accumulation of Glory, as if there were no Difficulty which the Genius of the *English* Nation could not surmount, Queen *Philippa*, who was left in *England*, not only defeated a vast Army of *Scots*, who in Defence of their ancient Ally the *French* had invaded *England*, but took *David* their King Prisoner, whom she brought to *London*, and afterwards went triumphant to the Siege of *Calais*, where *Edward* had lain eleven Months without carrying the Place; which, being reduced at last to the Necessity of a Capitulation, could obtain no better Terms from the
inexorable

inexorable Conqueror, than that six of the chief Burghers should be sent with Halts about their Necks and lie at his Mercy: The poor Defendants, conscious of no Crime but their Fidelity to their King and Country, were much startled at so cruel a Demand, every one apprehending his own Destiny, till one braver than the rest, voluntarily offer'd himself a Victim to the Safety of his Fellow-Citizens: This noble Example chang'd the Passion of Fear into a generous Emulation who should be the first to die for his Country; at length the Number being compleated, they were presented before the stern *Edward*, who immediately gave Order they should be all strangled, when Queen *Phillippa* falling on her Knees, made Use of that Power she had over the Spirit of her Husband to obtain their Pardon, with her own Hands she took the Halts from their Necks, gave each of them twenty Shillings, and sent them back into the Town: Thus the Charity and Goodness of the Queen amply made amends for the Inhumanity of the King.

Calais thus reduced under the Subjection of the Crown of *England*, remained a Part of our Dominions for two hundred Years, till irrecoverably lost in the Reign of Queen *Mary*.

ABOUT this Time, by the Mediation of the Pope and other Princes, a Peace was propos'd between the two Crowns; to this both Sides were inclin'd, tho' neither would seem forward, till at last thro' a mutual Weariness of the War a Truce was made; the *French* being glad to take Breath after so long a Run of ill Fortune, and the *English* quietly to enjoy the Fruits of their Victories: But notwithstanding there was an outward Appearance of Peace, Hostilities were often renew'd by mutual Surprizals of one another's Towns; in one of these Adventures King *Edward*, by his Address, intercepted the *French* in a Design they had form'd upon *Calais*; in this Action fighting incognito in the Habit of a private Trooper, he was twice beaten down by a *French* Cavalier, whom nevertheless at last he took Prisoner; by this happy Temerity acquiring more the Reputation of personal Courage, than Prudence.

SOON after, the King of *France* dying, left his Kingdoms and ill Fortune to his Son *John*, who pursuing the War had driven the Prince of *Wales* into such a strait near *Poitiers*, that nothing but almost a Miracle could save him; the Prince, sensible of his ill Circumstances, offered every Thing he could in Honour to the Enemy, who

who elated with Assurance of Victory would hearken to no Proposals, but required an absolute Surrender to Mercy, by laying down his Arms: This insolent Demand added Indignation to the Courage of the Prince, who now prepar'd every Thing for his Defence against a Power that exceeded him six times in Number; the *English* Army consisting most of Foot, had the Advantage of Vineyards and other Inclosures to secure them against the Enemies Horse, in which the Strength of the *French* consisted: Here is another Instance of the Fatality in being too secure; for the *French*, despising the Number of the Enemy, were so sure of Victory, that they scorn'd to make Use of their Foot, but resolv'd to trample down the *English* with their Cavalry, who were so incommoded and entangled in the Vineyards and Hedges, that they could neither advance nor retire, and thus useless were expos'd to the Shot of the *English* Archers; this occasion'd the Defeat of their Army, follow'd by a most terrible Slaughter, in which the Number of the Slain were prodigious: At this we may guess by the Proportion of the Gentry and Nobility which the *French* themselves own to have fallen in this Battle, amounting to two Thousand; but at the same time we must consider, that the

French Armies in all Times have been more filled with Officers, and Persons of Rank, than those of any other Nation whatsoever; besides, it is remarkable, that the *French* Nobility, who in all Ages have been a very gallant Race of People, whenever beaten, have nevertheless shew'd great Marks of their personal Bravery, by generally dying on the Spot where they could not vanquish, thinking the Loss of Life inconsiderable after that of Victory.

IN the Number of Prisoners was King *John* himself, whose Captivity compleated the Glory of this Day, made more illustrious in Story by the Generosity and great Honours which the gallant Conqueror shew'd to his Royal Prisoner, whom he treated in his Chains with the same profound Respect as if he had been paying him Homage on the Throne of *France*: These are the shining Qualities that compleat the Hero, it being less difficult to obtain a Victory, than not to be elated with the Success; ill Men are often prosperous, but only the Wise, the Brave, and Good, know how to make a right Use of good Fortune.

THE *French* King soon after being brought a Prisoner to *London*, added another crown'd Head to the Triumphs of the *English*, and kept in Countenance the unfortunate

fortunate *David*, by shewing him a greater Prince in the same Condition.

NOT long after happen'd an Accident, which shew'd that this illustrious Prince of *Wales* was destin'd to give Crowns as well as take them away; *Don Pedro* of *Castile*, expell'd his Kingdom for his horrid Cruelties, made Application to him as he lay in his Winter-Quarters at *Bordeaux*; upon which the generous *Edward*, according to the nicer Notions of those Times, considering the Character, and not the Man, thought himself obliged in Honour to assert the common Cause of crown'd Heads, in discountenancing such a Violation of Majesty, even in the Deposition of a Tyrant: Soon after, *Don Pedro* was restored to his Throne by the Arms of *Edward*, which great Service the brutal Prince requited with the last Ingratitude; upon which being justly abandon'd to his own ill Stars, he was pursued by the Vengeance of his Subjects, and expell'd again; but as if the very Air and Climate of this Country would punish the Prince for abetting the Cause of such a Monster, he here first contracted those Distempers which afterwards prov'd so fatal.

THE Truce which was made between *France* and *England* began now to be broke,

broke, upon a Disagreement about the Ransom of the *French* King; his Son the Dauphin and the Nobility of *France* thinking the Concessions extorted by the Necessities of a Prisoner too unreasonable to be ratify'd: Upon this, King *Edward* crosses the Seas in order to renew the War; but, terrify'd by a prodigious Thunder and Lightning, he began to hearken to an Accommodation, which the Pope and all Christendom had in vain solicited before; so much was his Superstition stronger, than his Piety or Tenderness of Blood.

NOT long after this, died the excellent Prince of *Wales*, and with him the good Genius of *England*; afterwards our Affairs began to decline; *Edward* himself advanced into Years fell into all the Weaknesses of old Age, by which he lost the Reputation of that Severity he had acquired in his younger Days; for he now abandoned himself to the Caresses of a scandalous Woman, call'd *Alice Pierce*, who had so great an Ascendant over the Spirit of this Prince, that he resign'd not only himself, but even the Conduct of his Kingdom, to the Management of an infamous Strumpet, who had the Impudence not only to place herself in the Courts of Justice, but to influence all Matters of State; into such a Lethargy fell King and Kingdom,

dom, after having been so vigorous a Scene of Action so many Years before: And now it was high time for *Edward* to leave a World in which he could no longer live with Reputation; but he was first plunder'd by his Mistress of his Rings, Jewels, and all Things of Value about his Person, which was now abandon'd even by all his Domesticks, who, after the Example of the Lady, had first plunder'd, and then retir'd; by which Instance Princes may see how little they are follow'd for their own Sakes, but only to gratify the Avarice and Ambition of their worthless Attendants.

THIS was a long and glorious Reign, but grievous and oppressive to the People by the excessive Taxes, which were necessary to support the constant Wars with *France* and *Scotland*.

R I C H A R D II.

[1377.]

TO *Edward* the third succeeds his Grandson *Richard* the second, who, as I observ'd of his Great-Grandfather, was unfortunate by alternate Succession, notwith-

notwithstanding he came with great Advantages to the Throne, being dearer to the People for the Sake of his Father the *Black Prince*, whose Memory they so much adored; besides all which, the Beauty of his Person, and all the Signs of a towardly Disposition, recommended him to the Esteem and Affections of his Subjects: Notwithstanding these auspicious Prefages, we shall find an unhappy Reign, with all the Disasters so common to the brave but unfortunate Race of *Plantagenet*; but, when we consider that the most virtuous Princes of another Family have been equally ill treated by their seditious Subjects, we cannot ascribe the Misfortunes of these *English* Kings to any Fatality, or malevolent Aspect, but to the constant mutinous Temper of a turbulent Nobility, who had too much Power and too little Principles to be good Subjects: However, we cannot justify the Proceedings of this Prince, whose Measures were too arbitrary and unwarrantable through the whole Course of his Reign, enough to discontent his People, but not to excuse their Conduct to him at last; for we may observe, that the Consequences which attend the violent and illegal Proceedings of the People, when they pretend to do themselves Justice on their Kings, are always more

more fatal than the Grievances they think to redress : The Truth of this Assertion will be demonstrated in the Deposition of this King, furnam'd from *Bordeaux*, the Place of his Nativity ; the Beginning of whose Reign was attended with the Inconveniences so frequent in the Minority of Princes.

At first he was committed to the Tutelage of his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Cambridge*, for fear of whose Ambition some others were joined in Commission ; but this Plurality of Governors was soon found inconvenient, thro' their mutual Competition for Power and Pre-eminence ; upon which the Protectorship was lodg'd in one Hand by Authority of Parliament : This Example is in Minia-ture a true Emblem of the Disadvantages attending Commonwealths, in respect of Monarchies, in which the Rays of Power, like the Sun's, when contracted to one Point, are the stronger.

THE Non-age of this Prince was frequently molested by Insurrections of the Populace, than which there never were greater in any Age or Country ; one particularly of the Commons in *Kent*, with a Design to shake off the Vassalage which the common People at that Time lay under to their Lords : This Insurrection was equal in
every

every respect to the famous Commotion under *Massanello* at *Naples*, which has only made the more Noise of late in the World, by happening nearer to our own Times; the Passages in both have very near Resemblance, if we consider the Number of the People, the Occasion of the Insurrection, the Meanness of their Leaders, (one being a poor Fisherman, and the other a Tyler) the Fury of the Rabble, their pretended Justice on Malefactors, and at last their sudden Suppression as unaccountable as their Rising; but in one respect the *English* Story is more remarkable in the Person who put an End to this Tumult, by a Resolution so seldom found in a Burgher; this was the famous *William Walworth*, Lord Mayor of *London*, who had the Courage to vindicate the violated Majesty of his Prince, by stabbing the insolent Villain at the Head of 200000 armed and enraged Rabble, when all the Nobility present, Men bred to Arms, were trembling for Fear; in this he was seconded by the Resolution of the King himself, who by his Presence of Mind and Voice daunted the Miscreants, on whom the Authority of his Proclamations and repeated Offers of Pardon could make no Impression before. For this good Service the Lord Mayor was knighted, and

and his Dagger added to the City Arms, as some report, but others say this Bearing is more ancient; however, it never could be assum'd on a nobler Account.

THIS King was no sooner at Age, but his Favours to some particular Men made ill Blood in the rest of the Nobility; the chief Objects of their Envy were the great Earl of *Oxford*, and *Delapool* Duke of *Suffolk*; the first had received a very unusual Title for a Subject, being created Duke of *Ireland*, and Marquis of *Dublin*; the other, from the Son of a Merchant, had been rais'd to the Dignity of a Duke; *Oxford* was a Man of a beautiful Person, and no less Accomplishments of Mind, but fierce and insolent, which made him have so many Enemies, who accus'd him of abusing the Power he had with the King to the Detriment of the Commonwealth, and Oppression of the other Nobility; these Complaints they laid before the King, but finding their Remonstrances have no Effect, they rise in Arms to remove the Favourite by Force: *Oxford* met the Lords at *Radcott* Bridge, where rather running away than beaten he saved himself by leaping into a River and swimming over; but that which contributed the most to his Escape, was an Opinion of his being drown'd, occasion'd by finding

ing some of his Accoutrements in the Water, which he had flung away to expedite his Flight ; he escap'd afterwards to *Louvain*, where he died in great Want and Misery : So dangerous it is to be too much in the Favour of a Prince, without a great deal of Merit to support an invidious Grandeur.

THE Lords afterwards marching with an Army of 40000 to *London*, compel the King to remove from his Person those whom they called Delinquents, which indeed prov'd to be every-body in any Post of Profit or Trust ; nor did the fair Sex escape better, several Ladies of Quality being among the Number banish'd the Court ; after which there follow'd the greatest Example of the People's doing themselves Justice on those who they believed had betray'd their Rights and Liberties ; for in the ensuing Parliament all the Judges, except one, were arrested on the Bench, but none put to Death, though condemn'd, except the Lord Chief Justice *Tresilian*, who was hang'd, and then had his Throat cut at *Tyburn* ; the others were only banish'd and their Goods confiscated : The Crime with which these Judges were charg'd was, giving Opinions too advantageous to the Prerogative, and prejudicial to the Liberty of the People ;
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so far there was Colour of Justice: If these Accusations were true, the People might seem to be in the right in vindicating their Liberties, while they knew how with Prudence to distinguish who were the proper Objects of their Resentment by the Appointment of the Laws, without a Violation of that sacred Character which the Laws of God, and the Constitution of our own Government, have elevated above the People's Animadversions; the Kings of *England*, exempt in their Persons, being only accountable in their Ministers, which Maxim, as it is the most sacred as well as wisest in our Constitution, so it would have been more for our Interest, as well as Reputation, if we had always had the Honesty inviolably to have observ'd it.

Soon after this there happen'd an Affair which occasion'd the most illegal and extrajudicial Proceedings of this whole Reign, which tho' Necessity can hardly justify, yet however the Circumstances, in which the King found himself, will very much extenuate; this was the Death of the Duke of *Glocester*, a turbulent Malecontent, who was resolved to ruin the King whom he could not govern. This factious Prince, to promote his own ambitious Designs, had conspired with the Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury*, the Abbot of *St. Alban's*, and several great Men of his own Party, to seize the Person of the King and his two Uncles *York* and *Lancaster*, with all the other great Lords devoted to the King, whom they design'd to murder, as well as most of the Privy Council, excepting the Person of the King, who was only to be spared, perhaps to engage those in the Design, the Tenderness of whose Consciences would not permit them to go so far; but this impious Contrivance was discover'd by the Earl *Marshal*, Son-in-law to the Earl of *Arundel*, one of the chief Conspirators: This Nobleman, touch'd with Remorse of Conscience for the Crime in which he was engag'd, came to the King one Night as he sat at Supper, and drawing him aside from the Table, laid open the whole Design, which was to be put in Execution the next Day; the King, surpriz'd with the Flagitiousness of the Treason, and terrify'd with the Sense of so imminent a Danger, after a short Consultation with his Council what to do in this Exigence, immediately took Horse, and followed by several of the Nobility, on whose Fidelity he could rely, resolv'd rather to meet, than attend his Danger; a Presence of Mind which could not result
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more from Necessity than natural Courage : Late the same Night they arrived at the Duke of *Glocester's* House in *Essex*, not very far from the Town ; the Duke, surpriz'd at such unexpected Guests, immediately rose, and came down undress'd to bid the King welcome, while at the same time, not imagining his Designs discover'd, he inwardly applauded his good Fortune, which had so much more easily delivered the Prey into his Hands than he could have expected ; upon this he intreated the King to stay all Night, who told him he had a Party of Pleasure to make, in which he desir'd his Company ; upon which the Duke, as soon as he could be accoutred, attended the King, who having drawn him to a convenient Distance from his own House, where he had so numerous a Retinue as might have rescu'd him, commanded the Earl *Marshal* to arrest him for High Treason, which being perform'd, and the Duke disarm'd, he was immediately hurried on Shipboard and convey'd to *Calais*, where it is believ'd he was strangled : This Proceeding can be excus'd by nothing but an absolute Necessity against a Man who was so dangerously popular as to be above the Reach of the Law, and not to be attach'd by the common Methods

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thods of Justice: This Action gave the greatest Handle to the Duke's Friends to inveigh against the King, Mankind having been ever too disingenuous to allow any Guilt in their own Party.

I have been more particular in this Relation, because some of our Writers, by telling only Matter of Fact, *viz.* the Seizure and Execution of this Duke, and not letting the Reader into the Motives and Causes of this extraordinary Proceeding, have given Posterity too disadvantageous Impressions of this Prince.

THE Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with most of the other Conspirators, were seiz'd the next Day, and committed to Prison: Upon this a Parliament being called, to whom the King laid open the whole Conspiracy, the House of Commons, by the Mouth of their Speaker Sir *John Busby*, at the Bar of the Lords, where the King was present, impeach'd the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with several others, of High Treason, after which they were attainted: The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, out of Respect to the Sanctity of his Character, was only banish'd and his Goods confiscated; so sacred were the Persons of the Clergy in those Days.

NOTWITH-

NOTWITHSTANDING the great Zeal which appear'd in this House of Commons towards the King, in so readily punishing his Enemies, we shall shortly see the same Authority depose, without any new Cause of Disgust, this very Prince, to whose Service they seem'd so devoted before ; so easy it is for well-meaning Persons to be impos'd on by the specious Pretences of crafty and designing Men.

A N Accident, which not long after happen'd, contributed to this strange Revolution ; the Duke of *Hereford*, who was Son to *John* of *Gaunt*, falling out with the Duke of *Norfolk*, accus'd him of Words spoken derogatory to the King's Honour ; but *Norfolk* denying the Accusation, there was no Way thought so expedient to decide this Matter as Combat, which was granted by the King ; tho' this superstitious Method of discovering Truth began to grow ridiculous and obsolete at this Time. When the Combatants were enter'd the Lists, and ready to charge one another, the King, to prevent the Effusion of noble Blood by so uncertain a Decision of Truth, flung down his Warder and prevented their Engagement ; afterwards upon mature Deliberation he adjudg'd them both to Banishment, *Norfolk* for Life, and *Hereford* for ten Years, which Sentence must seem

seem hard to the innocent Person, it being impossible but one must be in the Right, and consequently injur'd; however, to take off all Pretence of Partiality, the King thought fit to punish both; but the Sentence against *Hereford*, who was his Cousin-German, was shortly after contracted to four Years; nevertheless the Disgrace left that Sting in his Mind, and made such ill Blood against the King, as put *Hereford* afterwards upon Measures so inconsistent with his Honour and Duty; his Revenge was afterwards more inflam'd by the Counsel and Suggestion of the Archbishop, whom he met Abroad under the same Circumstances of Exile.

THIS wicked Prelate, as the Corruption of the best Things are always the worst, and an ill Priest the most abandon'd of Mankind, finding no Way to return Home, but on the Ruins of his Prince, undertook the Management of *Hereford's* Affairs, by holding a Correspondence with the Malecontents in *England*.

When every Thing was ripe, *Henry of Bolingbrook*, Duke of *Hereford*, sets Sail for *England*, with a few Followers of his Fortunes, whom the Conscience of their Crimes and a Fear of Justice had attach'd to his Interests.

Richard

Richard was at this Time in *Ireland*, which was the Reason he chose this Juncture, that he might make the more considerable Progress before the King could possibly return: Upon his first Landing he declar'd, That he was only come to take Possession of his Inheritance devolv'd on him by the Death of his Father; the Plausibility of this specious Pretence drew at first a great many unthinking Men to his Party; it being always the Method of Ambition in the Beginning to disguise the main Design, till those, who are at first drawn in only by their Weakness and Credulity, when once engag'd, by degrees grow harden'd in that Villany, at the mention of which they would have trembled before.

WE have seen the same thing happen in our Days; Numbers of well-meaning People engaged in a certain Cause at first, without the least Apprehension of what soon followed; being so very weak as to believe, that a certain Person came only to remove a few Priests, and then go Home again.

BUT this Attempt was too desperate to have succeeded, if the ill Stars of *Richard* had not concurr'd to his Ruin, for the Winds blew so constantly West forty Days together, that no Advice could be carried

into *Ireland* of this Invasion in *England*.

As this long Space of Time encourag'd the Party of *Henry*, so it disheartened the Friends of *Richard*, who would have appear'd in his Quarrel, if he had been on the Place to have headed and supported them: *Richard* at this Time had acquired great Reputation in subduing the *Irish*, over which People he had further extended his Conquests than any of his Predecessors in that Kingdom: In this War he particularly distinguish'd, by signal Marks of his Favour, the young *Henry*, Son to *Hereford*, who at the same Time was actually dispossessing him of his Crown; but it is the common Fate of Usurpers to be as ungrateful as they are wicked and unjust.

UPON the first News, *Richard* immediately prepar'd to come into *England*, sending his Friends over before him to raise all the Force they could against his Arrival; but prevented by some Accidents, or his own unaccountable Destiny, a great Power of *Welsh*, who had appear'd in Arms on his Behalf, impatient of Delay, disbanded; so many Accidents always concur to compleat the Destiny of the unfortunate. He had not been long landed, when he was surpriz'd by an Ambuscade,
and

and carried Prisoner to *Flint* Castle, to which Place *Hereford* with his Army soon resorted, accompany'd by that Incendiary the Archbishop, who had the Assurance to appear in the Presence of his injur'd Master. At first Sight of the King the perfidious Duke with the most profound Dissimulation flung himself at his Feet, declaring, he was only come to recover his Patrimony, and to procure the King's Honour and Safety, tho' at the same Time he had actually made him a Prisoner; from hence they conducted him by easy Journeys to *London*, denying him in this Restraint the Necessaries fit for his Person; upon his Arrival they immediately clapt him in the *Tower*, after which they call'd a Parliament, but in the Name, and by the Writs, of King *Richard*; the People at this Time not thinking they had Power to assemble Conventions without the legal Call of their lawful Prince: In this Parliament it was resolved to depose *Richard*, this House of Commons being fill'd with the King's Enemies, and the Creatures of his Adversary, as it is usual in most Turns of State and Revolutions, for wise and honest Men to sit still, while Fools and Knaves intrude into Authority and Power.

To this End, they under-hand, by Promises, Threats, and other Arts, so work'd

upon the Spirit of *Richard*, as to persuade him to resign his Crown voluntarily; which, they were conscious, they had no Right to take away by Force.

H E N R Y IV.

[1399.]

TH E King finding it in vain to resist, submitted to his Destiny, thinking it better to do that with a good Grace and Air of Willingness, which he could not prevent by struggling in vain: Upon this he solemnly resign'd his Crown to the Duke of *Lancaster* and *Hereford* his Cousin, capitulating only for a convenient Maintenance during Life; but this poor Prince did not know an Observation of one of the wisest, but most unforunate of his Successors, that the Space is but short between the Prison and the Graves of Princes.

THUS ended the Reign of *Richard* the second, a magnificent, generous, and good-natur'd Prince, with some Failings, and as great Virtues; but he was sacrificed to the Ambition of his own Family: And now we shall see the aforesaid Observation

vation made true, for this unfortunate Prince did not long survive his Deposition; it being usual for ambitious Men, having once shaken Hands with Honour and Principle, to stick at no Villany to secure what with as little Conscience they first acquired.

THERE are several Accounts of his Death; some say he was starv'd, and others that he died with Grief; and some have affirm'd that he was kill'd by Sir *Pierce* of *Exton*, who rushing into his Chamber with eight arm'd Men barbarously murder'd him, but not till first by a desperate Resistance he had reveng'd himself by dispatching four of the Assassins; a deplorable Fate, which might in probability have been prevented, if he had defended his Crown with the same Resolution he did his Life.

IN this Tragedy of *Richard* the second we plainly see a conspicuous Example of the divine Justice, which ordain'd that poor Prince to expiate the Crime of his Grandfather *Edward* the third in deposing his own Father; the Ambition of that Prince being thus remarkably punish'd by the Division of his Family, who in the two Branches of *York* and *Lancaster*, for almost an Age together, tore out one another's Bowels, and involv'd their Country
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in Blood and Defolation; the Experience of which one would think was enough to make Mankind rise in Arms, and extirpate such ill Men, who to their Lust of Power sacrificed the Repose and Safety of whole Nations.

NOR shall we see this *Henry* himself less punish'd for his unjust Seizure of the Throne, tho' not immediately in his own Person, but in his Childrens Children, who, tho' innocent, must all be sacrificed to the *Manes* of injur'd *Richard*; as also the factious Nobility, who assisted the Ambition of *Henry* in this unjust Revolution, must share the Punishment as well as the Guilt; most of these Men meeting their just Reward at the Hands of the Usurper himself; whom a little before, at the Expence of their own Honour and Consciences, they had elevated to the Throne; besides, their Posterity for several Descents either fell by the Sword, or Axe; so Sacred is the Blood of lawful Princes.

Henry was no sooner settled on the Throne, but he found the Uneasiness of a Crown wrong put on at first; the Nobility, with the same Levity with which they had abandon'd *Richard*, beginning to grow weary of an Idol which they themselves had erected: Upon this a Conspiracy was form'd in the House of
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the Abbot of *Westminster*, to depose *Henry* and restore *Richard*, who was not yet murder'd ; but this Design being discover'd, all the Conspirators that were taken, without Mercy, were put to death ; the Duke of *Surrey* and Earl of *Salisbury*, tho' expiring of Wounds receiv'd in their Apprehension, *flagrante crimine*, were beheaded on the Spot ; the Duke of *Exeter* and Earl of *Glocester* afterwards on a Scaffold ; after which follow'd the Execution of several Gentlemen of Quality, with the greatest Effusion of Noble Blood that ever was shed by the Hands of the Hangman at one Time in *England* ; by which we may see how much better it is to fall into the Hands of a lawful Prince, than an Usurper, who thinks himself no longer safe than he is cruel ; the one, when oblig'd to punish, remembers that he is correcting his Children, and the other revenging himself on his Enemies. Among the Objects of *Henry's* Fury at this Time, I cannot forbear to mention the famous Bishop of *Carlisle*, who is reported to have made that memorable Speech in the House of Peers at the Debate about deposing King *Richard* ; but this Speech being to be found in all our common Chronicles, I thither refer the Reader, where he will find

find a great Example of Eloquence, Piety, Justice, Honour, and Courage, in this noble Prelate, whose Virtue, the same Order of Men in succeeding Times, on the same Occasion, had neither the Boldness nor Honesty to imitate: Some Persons deny, that this Bishop of *Carlisle* sat in this Parliament; but let that be how it will, the Speech is nevertheless right and valuable for not being spoken.

THIS Affair was soon over, but there follow'd another of more dangerous Consequence; the *Piercies* being disgusted, revolt from *Henry*, and rise in Arms; this Family by their Authority and Power were the greatest Instruments in the late Revolution; but now discontented, they thought they could pull down *Henry* with the same Ease they had elevated him before; Upon this they renounce their Allegiance, and send him a Defiance, at the same time reproaching him with a Breach of Faith in assuming the Crown (which he had so solemnly forsworn on his landing) and murdering his lawful Prince, whom he had first traiterously depos'd; this Message was seconded by a good Army, commanded by *Harry Hotspur*, so call'd from his fiery Temper, Son to the Earl of *Northumberland*.

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THIS Quarrel shews the Folly and Unreasonableness of Men, who not guided by a Steadiness of Principle follow the Dictates of their Passion; for with what Justice could they upbraid King *Henry* with a Crown which they themselves had given him? Or call him an Usurper, at whose Coronation they themselves assisted? But their Infidelity to *Richard* was to be punish'd now by the same Hands which they themselves had arm'd to their own Destruction; for *Henry*, at the Battle of *Shrewsbury*, defeats this Army, kills *Harry Hotspur*, and takes his Uncle the Earl of *Worcester* Prisoner, who soon after lost his Head; in this Battle *Henry* gave incredible Marks of his Courage, by slaying no less than thirty-six with his own Hand. This Defeat secur'd the Crown and the Fears of *Henry*, who was molested no more during the rest of his Reign, but by one Insurrection of the Earl of *Northumberland*, who perished in the Attempt: Thus for a Time lay extingnish'd the Great House of *Piercy*, the Title of *Northumberland* being transferr'd to another Family: This Punishment fell justly on their Heads for their Ingratitude to *Richard* the Second, who first gave them that Honour which was taken away by the same

same Person to whom they had given his Crown.

THUS this unjust Possession, acquired by Blood, was confirm'd and supported by the same Methods and Principles; tho' this Severity in *Henry* resulted rather from his Ambition, and the Necessities of his Circumstances, than his Nature; for otherwise he was a very great Man, and adorn'd with so many Virtues, as would have made him worthy of a Crown, if he had not so unjustly desir'd one.

BUT as Violence never lasts very long, so the Reign of this Prince soon determined before he could enjoy the Fruits of his Toils and Dangers; for he died as soon as ever he began to be safe and easy, leaving his great Qualities, as well as his Kingdom, to his Son *Henry* the fifth, who deserved a better Title than his Father could bequeath him.

HENRY V.

[1412.]

THIS Prince, when he had ascended the Throne, approv'd himself a better Man than the Wildness of his Youth had promis'd;

promis'd ; he seem'd to have no Passion but a Thirst of Glory, and to tread in the Steps of his Great-Grandfather *Edward* the third, by asserting his Title to the Crown of *France* ; this Humour of his was indulg'd and cherish'd by the Clergy of this Time, who, apprehensive of some Revolution in the Church, by the Disposition they found in the People towards a Resumption of their Lands, thought by engaging him Abroad to divert the warlike Genius of this Prince from hearkening to any Proposals that should be made upon this Subject, which had already been debated in Parliament.

THUS encouraged by the Men whose Riches enabled them the most to support him, he resolv'd on a War with *France* in Prosecution of his Title, which was barr'd by the *Salique* Laws, and deriv'd as far backward as his Great-Grandfather's Mother, who was a Daughter of *France* ; upon this Resolution he sends a most splendid Embassy, whose Message was not a little surprizing to the *French* Court, being no less than a positive Demand of that Crown ; this Message was justly derided by the *French*, and the Derision as severely reveng'd by the *English* : His Army being ready, tho' not proportionable in Number to the Vastness of the Design,

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Design, he embark'd for *Normandy*, where arriving he made himself Master of *Harflue*; after which, marching into the Country, he was encounter'd by a powerful Army, whom he defeated at the famous Battle of *Agincourt*, the Glory of which Day was a little stain'd by the Cruelty shewn to the Prisoners, who were kill'd in cold Blood after the Fight was ended: This our Writers excuse by a new Alarm from the Enemy at a Time that the Prisoners exceeded the Number of those who took them. Thus having forced his Way homeward, he return'd to *London* triumphant with a few Captives, but a great deal of Glory.

THE next Year he renew'd the War with greater Vigour and continued Success, to which the Revolt of the *French* contributed more than his own Strength and Power; for the Queen and Dauphin falling out who should have the Regency during the Incapacity of *Charles* the sixth, who was frantick, the malicious Woman, to gratify her Passion of Revenge, chose rather to deliver her Country into the Hands of Strangers than to submit to her Son, who disputed her Authority; in this Point the Dauphin had certainly the Right on his Side in a Country ruled by the *Salique* Law, nothing seeming more unreasonable

sonable than that Women should govern a Kingdom, which they cannot inherit ; with the Queen was joined in Interest the Duke of *Burgundy*, a Prince almost as considerable as either the Kings of *France* or *England* ; such a Conjunction must evidently crush the Dauphin, who now had but a very inconsiderable Party to support his Pretensions.

THE Queen and Duke of *Burgundy*, thus governing every Thing in the King's Name, contract a Marriage between *Henry* of *England* and *Catharine* of *Valois* ; the Conditions of which were, That during the Life of *Charles* ; the King of *England* should have the Regency, and, after his Death, inherit the Crown : These Articles being ratify'd, and the Marriage celebrated, the *French* Nobility all swear Allegiance to the King of *England* ; and now the Armies of both Kingdoms being join'd pursue the unfortunate Dauphin with a vast Power, consisting of several Nations, which never fought before, nor hardly will again under the same Banners, *Burgundians*, *French*, *English*, *Scots*, and *Irish* ; the Dauphin, thus press'd, was forced to retire before his victorious Rival King *Henry*, who now committed an Action of such Cruely as made him unworthy his good Fortune ; for at the Siege
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of *Montreau*, a Town which held out for the Dauphin, to frighten the Governor into a Surrender, he commanded that twelve *French* Gentlemen of Quality, who were Prisoners in his Camp, should be hang'd in Sight of the Ramparts; an impious Violation of Faith, after Quarter once given: This and the like Actions in some of the bravest of our Princes, have made the *English* Story read a little too barbarous; it being to be lamented, that so many other great Virtues should not be supported by Humanity, Honour, and Justice.

Thus we have seen how *Henry* the fifth acquired the Crown of *France*, to which his Sword would have given him a better Title, than either his Matrimonial, or what he deriv'd from his Great-Grandmother Queen *Isabel*.

BUT Death soon after put a Stop both to his Pretences and Victories, in the Height of which, and the Flower of his Age, he was snatch'd away, leaving his beautiful Wife Queen *Catharine*, a distress'd, but not inconsolable Widow.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great Actions of this Prince, and a continued expensive War, he burdened his Subjects with less Taxes than some of his Successors in Times of Peace; by which we
may

may see how great Designs may be accomplish'd by a good OEconomy and Frugality, when the most boundless Sums, for want of those Virtues, have been found insufficient in our own Days, either to procure the Safety of our Neighbours or our own; a Misfortune more easily lamented than remedied in so abandon'd an Age, in which those, who should have protected, have endeavour'd to plunder their Country, and then promise themselves Impunity to their Crimes by their Impudence and Numbers.

H E N R Y VI.

[1422.]

IMMEDIATELY upon the Death of *Henry* the fifth, his Son of the same Name was proclaim'd King of *France* and *England*; the Care of his Minority was committed to his two Uncles, the Dukes of *Bedford* and *Glocester*, the first being left Regent of *France*, and the other of *England*; but the particular Education of his Person was under the Inspection of the Cardinal of *Beauford*: At the Beginning, under the Conduct of these great Men, *Bedford*, *Salisbury*, and *Talbot*, the Eng-
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lish Affairs met with so great Success in *France*, that they did not seem to miss their victorious *Henry*; but soon after the Dauphin, who upon his Father's Death had assumed the Title of King, by the Name of *Charles* the seventh, began to get Ground by the daily Return of his Subjects to their natural Allegiance: To this Turn of Fortune the Superstition of that Age not a little contributed, by the Opinion which the common People had entertain'd of the famous *Pucelle*, who, tho' a private Shepherdess, by a pretended Revelation from Heaven, had infus'd such Courage into the dispirited *French*, as to make them hope at last to recover their Country; tho' all this was a Contrivance in the *French* Court to work on the Superstition of the People.

UNDER the Conduct of this Virago, the *French* in several Rencounters defeated the *English*; this Success rais'd the drooping Spirits of the one, and mortified the other, who now, by a new Series of ill Success, found a visible Revolution of their Fortune; but at last this famous Heroine, after having given wonderful Proofs of her Courage and Conduct, fell into the Hands of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who delivered her to the Regent, upon which her Process being made, she was condemn'd
and

and burnt at *Roan* for a Witch; an Action not more cruel than unjust.

EVER after the *English* Fortune daily more and more declin'd, especially upon the Death of the Earl of *Salisbury*, who was kill'd at the Siege of *Orleans*, on the Bridge of which City the Statue of that *Pucelle* is standing at this Day, and her Memory adored in *France* with all the Veneration with which Gratitude can inspire the Breasts of her rescu'd Countrymen.

NOT long after interven'd an Accident that gave the greatest Blow to the *English* Fortune in *France*; this was the Misunderstanding between the Regent and the Duke of *Burgundy*, who upon some Disgust meditated a Revolt from the *English* to the other Side: As the Friendship of this great Prince contributed so much before to the Interest of *England*, so his Assistance, being withdrawn from one Side and added to the other, too powerfully turn'd the Scale. Soon after died the Duke of *Bedford* Regent of *France*, and with him the Fortune of *England*, if the great *Talbot* had not surviv'd; but as one ill Accident is always attended by another, in a little time he himself was taken Prisoner in one Battle, and soon after kill'd in another, but not till by his great Actions

tions he had reflected as much Glory on his Country as on his illustrious Family, whose very Name was formidable to the *French*.

AMONG the memorable Persons in this *French* War, I cannot omit the famous Sir *John Falstaff*, who, tho' one of the bravest and most active Men of his Time, being not only a great Officer but a gallant Cavalier, has been ridicul'd and misrepresented by the Pen of a certain Poet, for an Original of Buffoonry and Cowardice, for no other Reason, but that some of his Posterity had disoblig'd Mr. *Shakespeare*; so dangerous it is to make Enemies of those Men, who not only command the present, but can look back into past Ages, bring the dead upon the Stage, and by the Immortality of their Writings, extend their Revenge to the End of the World: I mention this not only to do Justice to the injur'd, but to shew the Vanity of troubling one's self to acquire a Reputation upon any other Account but our own Satisfaction; since 'tis in the Power of any one Man of Wit to reverse the Character and spoil the Hero.

THE Revolt of *Burgundy* was follow'd by the Desertion of the Duke of *Britain*, who left the *English* to court the rising Fortunes of *Charles*; all these concurrent Misfortunes

Misfortunes meeting with a weak Reign in *England*, and consequently Distractions at home through the mutual Dissensions of the great Men, put an End to the *English* Dominions in *France*: But the ill Blood between the Dukes of *York* and *Somerſet* had more fatal Conſequences; *York* had laid ſeveral Accuſations to the Charge of *Somerſet* and *Suffolk*, but found no Remonſtrances could make any Impreſſion to their Diſadvantage on the King, who, proving a very weak Man, had intirely reſign'd himſelf to the Conduct of his Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to the titular King of *Naples* and *Sicily*; the Queen, a Woman of a Genius and Spirit above her Sex, finding the Incapacity of the King her Husband, who was fitter for a Cowl than a Crown, by the Aſſiſtance of *Somerſet* and others of that Party, aſſum'd the whole Management of Affairs; the Duke of *York* ſaw himſelf in the laſt Danger while *Somerſet* continu'd in ſuch Authority and Power, eſpecially after ſuch an Example, as the Death of *Humphrey* Duke of *Gloceſter*, who had wrongfully been attainted, and afterwards murdered in his Bed by the Queen's Faction.

BUT the Envy of *Somerſet*'s Greatneſs, or the Danger of his Power, were not the ſole Reaſons that oblig'd the Duke of *York*

to think his Removal necessary ; conscious of his own Right to the Crown, this Prince had begun to project some Designs of re-establishing his Family upon the Ruins of the House of *Lancaster*, to whom *Somerſet* was intirely devoted by the Ties of Blood and Interest : To remove ſo great an Obſtacle, the Duke of *York* thought fit to ſtrengthen his Party by engaging the moſt conſiderable Men in his Interest ; among theſe were the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Warwick*, who were Father and Son; the laſt of theſe Earls was call'd by the common People, *Make-King*, from the conſtant Succeſs which attended that Side, in the following Wars, to which he carried his Arms : The great Popularity of this Nobleman was acquired by his immense Liberality in Houſe-keeping, the only Way to be Great in that Age ; for it is reported, that this Earl of *Warwick* us'd to ſpend ſeven Oxen at one Breakfast to regale the Rabble, which made him ſuch a Darling of the common People, that at a Whiſtle he could never want an Army at his Devotion.

THESE Great Lords, having concerted their Measures, ſince other Applications had no Succeſs, reſolve to remove *Somerſet* by Force of Arms ; in order to which, having rais'd an Army in *Wales* and the *North*, they march for *London*, and are met in the
Way

Way by the King, Queen, and *Somerſet*, at St. *Alban's*, where was the firſt Blood drawn in this Quarrel between the two Roſes ; in this Battle *Henry* was defeated and taken Priſoner, but treated with all manner of Reſpect ; on his Side fell the Duke of *Somerſet*, the pretended Occaſion of the War, the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Stafford*. This Deciſion of Fortune put the Management of Affairs intirely into the Hands of *York*, who as yet only pretended to redreſs Grievances, without laying any Claim to the Crown ; immediately after the Victory, *York* and *Warwick* bring the King in Triumph to *London*, where they obliged him to call a Parliament ; in which it was enacted, That the Duke of *York* ſhould be Guardian and Protector of the Realm, tho' the King was 35 Years of Age at this Time

THIS Indignity ſo irritated the great Spirit of the Queen, that ſhe immediately rallied the Ruins of the *Lancſtrian* Faction, whom ſhe endeavour'd to inſpire with Sentiments of Revenge equal to her own ; but the Fortune of this Great Princeſs was not juſt to her Courage and Genius ; ſhe was defeated again at the Battle of *Northampton*, whence ſhe narrowly eſcap'd with her Son the young Prince of *Wales*, leaving the unfortunate *Henry* a ſecond time

time Prisoner : This new Success gave fresh Hopes to the Duke of *York*, who convenes a new Parliament in the Name of *Henry* ; in this Sessions he thought it a proper Time to assert his Title to the Crown, which he knew indisputably just : Upon this Resolution, he took his Opportunity in the House of Lords, after he had first in a short Harangue declared his Right, and the Injuries which his Family had received from the House of *Lancaster*, to place himself on the Throne ; every body was too conscious of his Right to make any Opposition, so that at last it was agreed in this Parliament, that *Henry* should enjoy the Crown for his Life, and the Duke of *York* succeed him.

THIS is certainly one of the most strange Revolutions that ever happen'd in any Country ; one might have thought the Crown of *England* at this Time securely fix'd in the House of *Lancaster*, by a Prescription of sixty Years, a Succession of three Kings in a lineal Descent, two of which were very great and valiant Princes ; the third had been in Possession almost 40 Years, and at this Time had a Son with the Title of Heir to the Crown : By this Example we may see, that no Time can establish, no Sanction of human Authority confirm, what is not originally in itself founded

founded on Truth, Equity, and Justice; so weak and fallible is that absurd Maxim, *Factum valet, quod fieri non debuit*; an Excuse first invented to palliate the unfledg'd Villany of some Men, who are asham'd to be Knaves, and yet have not the Courage to be honest.

HERE we cannot but reflect on the Unhappiness of these Times, in which both Sides might think themselves in the Right, tho' the House of *York* had indisputably the just Title, in being descended from *Lyonel* Duke of *Clarence*, who was third Son to *Edward* the Third; whereas the House of *Lancaster* derived themselves from the fourth; but this was more than the common People knew, who could not be suppos'd to look back into Pedigrees so remote; they had seen a constant Succession for three Descents in the House of *Lancaster*; every Man in his own Person had sworn Allegiance to *Henry* the sixth, his Father to *Henry* the fifth, and his Grandfather to *Henry* the fourth; all which Time the Title pretended by the House of *York* had lain dormant: These Considerations could not fail to engage a great many honest and well-meaning People on the wrong Side; whereas in more modern Disputes of Title, the Plainness of the Case has left no Room for any thing but Fool or Knave to
 whoever

whoever is not in the right; but it was at this Time the Will of Heaven equally to divide the Nation, that the War might continue the longer; the whole Body of the People being now to be punish'd for their Rebellion against *Richard* the second, and afterwards breaking thro' the Constitution, in laying aside the Family of *Mortimer*, who were presumptive Heirs, and had been so declared by that King, in whose Room they unjustly substituted *Harry* of *Lancaster*, who could have no manner of just Pretence to the Crown till the Race of *Mortimer* were extinct.

THAT Injustice now evidently occasion'd this long, bloody, and unnatural Civil War, in which were consumed 200000 common Soldiers, 10000 of the Nobility, Gentry, and Persons of Distinction, all the Princes of the Blood, three Kings, and at last the great Race of *Plantagenet* extinguish'd; if all which Miseries could have been foreseen at the Deposition of *Richard* the second, it is probable the People of *England* would not have bought at such a Price the Exchange of two Kings.

AFTER this Settlement the Duke of *York* thought himself secure of the Crown, which he was destin'd never to wear himself, tho' it descended on his Family;

Family ; for now the Queen and the new Duke of *Somerset*, who after the Battle of *Northampton* were fled into *Scotland*, return'd with a great Power of *Scots* and other Northern *English*, once more to try their Fortune : Upon this the Duke of *York*, leaving the King in safe Custody, immediately marches against Queen *Margaret* with much an inferior Force ; but this Defect he thought sufficiently supply'd by the Goodness of his Troops, relying too much on their Courage and his own good Fortune, which yet had never abandon'd him : The Event shew'd the Rashness of this Resolution, which was contrary to the Advice of his Friends, who would have persuaded him to stay till his Army grew stronger by fresh Reinforcements ; this Counsel was certainly right, but the Duke, blinded by his Destiny, and carried on by his natural Ardour, would nevertheless engage the Enemy, by whose Number over-power'd, he lost both the Day and his Life ; his Son the young Earl of *Rutland*, a Child of twelve Years old, was inhumanly stabb'd by the Lord *Clifford*, tho' he begg'd his Life on his Knees ; the Earl of *Salisbury*, Father to *Warwick*, was taken Prisoner and beheaded ; nor was more Respect shewn to the Body of the Duke of *York*,
whole

whose Head, crown'd with a Paper Diadem in Derision, by the Queen's Command was set on the Walls of the City which gave him his Title.

THE World might have expected to have seen a new Turn of Affairs upon this Blow given to the House of *York*, but the ill Star of *Henry* was still too predominant; the Earl of *March*, who inherited all the great Qualities of his Father, as well as his Pretensions, had at the same Time defeated a Party of *Lancaster* on the Borders of *Wales*, in which Rencounter was taken Prisoner *Owen Teuthor*, who had married the Widow of *Harry* the fifth; this Gentleman the Earl of *March* sacrificed immediately to the *Manes* of the Duke of *York* his Father; after which, marching to *London*, he prevented the Queen by getting there before her; upon which *Margaret* was forced to retreat from the Sight of *London* back into the North: This gave an Opportunity to *Edward* to assert his Pretensions, assume the Title of King, and by a noble Effort at once leap into that Throne, to which his Father, for want of the same Resolution, had waited so long to be led by the People.

EDWARD

E D W A R D IV.

[1460.]

H E R E our Chronicles end the Reign of *Henry* the sixth, a mild, harmless and devout Prince, who wanted Courage and Genius longer to support so ill a Title; however we shall once more see him on the Throne, and cast down again by as sudden a Revolution of Fortune.

Edward was hardly fix'd in his new Seat, before he saw himself once more oblig'd to win the Crown before he could wear it; *Henry* and *Margaret* had still on Foot a very considerable Force in the North, which *Edward* thought necessary to vanquish before he could quietly enjoy his good Fortune; upon this he marches Northward, and at the famous Battle of *Towton* once more defeats the Army of *Henry*: This cruel Day must fill the Reader with Horror, when he is acquainted with all the Circumstances of this Battle, which is the most memorable of any since the Conquest, for the Obstinacy of the Combat, which lasted two Days, and the Cruelty of the Slaughter, in the Account of which our Historians are so particular as to tell us a definite Number of the slain, viz. 36776:
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but what is more lamentable, this was all *English* Blood, shed by the mutual Rage of Fathers, Sons, and Brothers. This horrid Carnage was occasion'd by an Order proclaim'd through *Edward's* Camp just before the Engagement, that none should give or take Quarter, which cruel Injunction was so strictly perform'd, that no Person of any Note was made Prisoner but the Earl of *Devonshire*, who had the Fortune to meet with an Enemy more generous than to obey so barbarous a Command; nevertheless this Humanity was of no further Service than to defer his Fate for a few Hours, in reserving him for the more ignoble Stroke of the Axe; it being the Custom of these Times, either to give no Quarter at all, or else immediately to execute the Unfortunate in the Field of Battle, after a short Time allow'd for Confession.

THIS Victory establish'd *Edward* in the Possession of the Throne, confirm'd not long after by another Advantage over the Enemy; so unsuccessful at this Time were all the Attempts of the House of *Lancaster*; but what the Swords of his Enemies could not compass, the Destiny, or rather Imprudence of *Edward*, will bring to pass: This Prince was the most beautiful Man of his Time, and not the least voluptuous;
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the Charms of his Person were none of the most inconsiderable Supports of his Interest; they had already made so deep an Impression on the Hearts of that Sex, who in all Ages behind the Curtain have govern'd the World, that the Citizens Wives, who are none of the most mortify'd Part of Womankind; had generally engaged their Husbands in his Interests, whose Purfes were as open to *Edward* as the Arms of their Wives; thus this young King supported himself by a particular Conduct, which would have ruin'd another in the Esteem and Affections of his People; some of his Successors, without other Helps but what they could get by their Gallantry with the Ladies, would have been despicably poor.

BUT tho' he succeeded so well with other Mens Wives, it was fatal to him to have one of his own, except he had made a more prudent Choice; for notwithstanding he had been affianced to the Lady *Bona*, Sister to the *French* Queen, and Daughter to the Duke of *Savoy*, by his Proxy the Earl of *Warwick*, whom he had sent over on purpose as the most proper Person to do Honour to that Solemnity, nevertheless falling in Love with a young Widow in the mean time, whose Charms were as resistless as her Chastity

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inexpugnable, he sacrificed his Glory to his Passion, and married the Lady Grey, Relict of Sir *John Grey* kill'd on the Side of *Lancaster* at the Battle of *St. Alban's*, at the same time declaring, that she was only fit to be his Wife who had disdain'd to be his Mistress: This Match was very improper in every respect; first, the Disparity of Condition, by which there was no Portion, Interest, or Alliances; the Inconvenience of her having several Children already, besides all the ill Consequences which attend the Marriages of Kings with their Subjects, of which this was the first Example since the Conquest.

As this Violation of Faith lessen'd *Edward*, not only in the Esteem of foreign Princes but his own Subjects; so this Affront to the Lady more particularly irritated the Parties concern'd, *France* and *Savoy*, who highly resented so great an Indignity; nor was the Earl of *Warwick* less sensible of his own Injury in this Affair, tho' Prudence for a time made him smother his Resentment till a fit Opportunity of Revenge; in order to which he works upon the flexible Nature of the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to *Edward*, and debauches him from the Interest of his Family so far, as to conspire the Restoration of *Henry* the sixth; *Warwick* and *Clarence*, thus agreed,

agreed, confirm their Friendship by a Marriage between the Duke and a Daughter of the Earl; after which they concert their Measures to make War on *Edward* and depose him: Upon this Resolution they take Arms, and declare against *Edward* as a Tyrant and Usurper. The King, not a little surpriz'd at the Defection of his Brother, raises a considerable Army to oppose his Enemies, when lull'd into Security by the Cunning of *Warwick*, he was one Night surpriz'd in his Camp and made a Prisoner; here was a sudden Revolution of Affairs, which would have been more surprizing in any other Country less obnoxious to such frequent Changes; but before *Warwick* could make Use of his good Fortune, the Carelessness of his Brother the Archbishop of *York*, to whose Custody *Edward* was committed, by suffering his Prisoner to escape, frustrated all his Designs.

Edward at Liberty immediately raises new Forces, upon which *Warwick* and *Clarence*, unable to resist by having too soon disbanded their Army, are forced to retreat into *France*, whence not long after returning with a few Troops lent by that Crown, and all the Refugees of the House of *Lancaster*, they form'd a very considerable Army in Favour of *Henry*.

Edward, unable to resist this sudden Invasion, and perceiving a Defection of his People to the Enemy, thought fitter to retreat till the Storm should spend its Fury, than, by staying in a House which was on Fire about his Ears, by his own Rashness justify his Fate; upon which Consideration, without one Stroke at this time to save his Crown, he privately retreated on Ship-board, and flew for Refuge to his Brother-in-law the Duke of *Burgundy*: This Conduct of *Edward* was never afterward by his Enemies made a Pretence to reflect on the Courage of this brave Prince, or invalidate his Title; the Word, *Abdication*, in the absurd Sense in which it has been lately taken, not being known to the Simplicity of that honest Age.

THIS wonderful Turn re-establish'd the Red Rose, and seem'd to extirpate the White; *Henry*, who had been nine Years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, is now again mounted on that Throne, with which he had so long been acquainted; but whether or no he distrusted his Fortune, or else had his Mind alienated from the World by a long Habit of Devotion in his Confinement, he seem'd not so much to relish this new Prosperity as might have been expected.

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SOON after in the next Parliament *Edward* is declar'd an Usurper, and with all his Adherents attainted; by which we may see how little Regard in this one Point was to be had to the Decrees of that Assembly, who partook so much of the mutable Nature of those who chose them; it being remarkable, that all along in this Dispute, the Parliaments ever recogniz'd the Victor and attainted the vanquish'd, with the same Inconstancy as the Rabble huzza'd whenever a new Revolution gave them the Diversion of a Holy-Day; which was now preparing; for *Edward*, assisted by the Duke of *Burgundy* with two thousand *Dutch*, a People destin'd to make Revolutions in *England*, lands in the North, where meeting with an unexpected Coldness in the People, he thought fit by a Meanness of Spirit unworthy his Character, to wave his Pretensions to the Crown, and declare he only came to possess his private Demesnes; and to make the World believe that he was in earnest, he wore the Cognizance of Prince *Edward*, *Henry's* Son, in his Cap: But soon afterwards finding his Friends flock to him, he marches for *London*, throws off his Disguise, and seizes the Person of unfortunate *Henry*, who now is convey'd again to his old Prison the

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Tower;

Tower; upon this the ensuing Parliament attaint the dispossess'd *Henry*, and acknowledge the Right of *Edward*, whom six Months before the same Authority had declar'd an Ufurper.

Edward thus reſeated muſt fight again for his Crown; the Earl of *Warwick* had another Army ready to diſpute his Title, but by the Perfidy of *Clarence*, who now deſerted his Party and went to the King, this great Man loſt both the Battle of *Barnet* and his Life: Tho' this Victory might ſeem for ever to ſettle the Houſe of *York* on the Throne, a few Days diſcover'd that *Edward* muſt once more renew his Toils and Dangers; Queen *Margaret* and her Son Prince *Edward* land in the Weſt, whence deſigning to march into South *Wales*, where their Intereſt lay, they are overtaken at *Teuksbury* by the victorious *Edward*; at this Place the Houſe of *Lancaster* made their laſt Efforts, being defeated in a decifive Battle, and for a greater Aggravation of the Miſfortune, the poor Prince *Edward*, only Son to *Henry*, and the laſt Hope of his Family, fell into the Hands of the Conqueror, who with ungenerous Reproaches insulting the Unfortunate, met with the ſame Return from the Fierceneſs of this young Prince, who aſſerted at this Time, with more
Courage

Courage than Prudence, the Pretensions of his Family ; upon which, the brutal Dukes of *Glocester* and *Clarence* fell upon him, and with repeated Stabs put an End to his innocent Life ; the Duke of *Somerset* drag'd from the Altar, with several other Persons of Quality, was put to Death, this being the third Duke of this Family successively who had fallen in this Quarrel either by Sword or Axe ; a wonderful Fidelity, which seems to be transmitted to their Posterity, by shining so conspicuously at this Day in the illustrious House of *Beaufort* : Not long after, that Monster the Duke of *Glocester* buried the same Dagger, already stain'd with the Blood of the Son, in the Heart of the Father, then a Prisoner in the *Tower*. Thus ended the miserable Life of *Henry* the sixth, who had so long been the Sport of Fortune, and whose Innocence, Simplicity, and Devotion, could not defend him from the Vengeance due to the Guilt of his Grandfather *Henry* the fourth, in usurping the Crown of *England* ; this Method of Providence in punishing the Children for the Crimes of their Fathers, as it is too Sacred for our Scrutiny, so it should be too terrible not to frighten the thinking Part of Mankind

from pursuing such pernicious and fatal Examples.

AFTER this last Victory, *Edward* had no more Occasion to draw his Sword; this State of Tranquillity gave him leave to indulge his Genius, and sacrifice the rest of his Days to his Pleasures, in which Course of Life he not long survived, dying in the 41st Year of his Age; whether or no his Days were shorten'd by his own Intemperance, or the Practices of *Glocester*, who had already remov'd his Brother *Clarence* to make Way for his Ambition, is uncertain.

E D W A R D V.

[1483.]

THE Death of *Edward* was not more fatal to his Family in Respect of the Minority of his Children, than in the Choice of a Guardian, who was their unnatural Uncle the Duke of *Glocester*; it is very wonderful how *Edward* came to make such a Choice, who could not be unacquainted with the villanous Disposition of his Brother; but perhaps apprehending his Ambition, he thought the safest

safest Way was to gratify that Passion by advancing him to the supreme Dignity next to the Crown, in Hopes this generous Confidence and Trust would oblige him to a greater Fidelity in his Charge: If this was the View of *Edward*, he knew not thoroughly the Nature of that boundless Appetite, which no Circumstances of Life, tho' never so great, so easy, glorious and desirable, can satiate; for when one Prospect is attain'd, there still remains a farther Object of the restless Desire.

THE first Advance of *Richard* towards his ill Designs was the Removal from the King's Person of all his maternal Relations, whom he first imprison'd and then murder'd; upon which the Queen-Mother, apprehending justly the Consequence, fled with her second Son into Sanctuary at *Westminster*; this Flight of the Queen's with her Son not a little disturb'd *Richard*, whose Aim would have been lost if he could not destroy both together; to remove therefore this Obstacle, he made Use of all his Address and Hypocrisy to get the Child into his Hands; at last his profound Dissimulation, his Vows, Oaths, and other Arts, had too powerful an Influence on the Fears of an helpless and disconsolate Woman; the Queen deliver'd her innocent Child to his bloody Executioner, who removes
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him with his Brother in great Pomp and State to the Tower, which in reality he made their Prison, and not their Palace.

THE next Advance thought necessary to prepare the Way to the Murder and Usurpation was, to give the People wrong Impressions concerning the Legitimacy of his Brother's Children : This Task was undertaken by a mercenary Preacher of that Time, who in the Pulpit endeavour'd to vilify the Birth of the young King and his Brother, on pretence that King *Edward* had been precontracted to the Lady *Elizabeth Lucy*, before he married Queen *Elizabeth* ; but this Sermon had no other Effect, than to raise the Disdain and Indignation of the Audience against the scandalous Preacher.

NEVERTHELESS *Richard* and the Duke of *Buckingham* were not in the least discourag'd from pursuing their horrid Design ; how that great Nobleman, who had Ambition and Pretensions of his own, came to be a Creature of *Richard*, and subservient to this Design, is unaccountable ; some say, the Protector promis'd him the Dukedom of *Hereford*, to which belong'd a vast Demean ; but whatever Engagements were between them, it is certain *Richard* afterwards kept not his Word, which might be the Reason of *Buckingham's* Disgust.

RICHARD

RICHARD III.

[1483.]

TH E Management and Artifices us'd by *Buckingham* to set the Crown on the Head of this Usurper are too well known to be insisted on here ; I shall only therefore observe the remarkable Punishment on *Buckingham*, and the expected Vengeance on *Richard*, who no sooner had robbed his Nephews of their Right but he thought fit to finish his Cruelty by the last Injustice in taking away their Lives ; after which horrid Fact he grew as odious to the rest of Mankind, as he was terrible to himself.

AND now follow'd the just Punishment of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who fell a Sacrifice to the Security of that Greatness which he himself had rais'd ; whether or no Discontent, or Remorse of Conscience for the Share he had in the Injustice, first exasperated him against *Richard*, is uncertain ; but soon after the Coronation of the Usurper, he shew'd too sensible Marks of his Disgust, and retir'd from Court : This Conduct could not fail to raise the Tyrant's Jealousy ; for wicked Men are always suspicious that every body will take from them,

them, what they are conscious to have ravish'd from others by the same Violence: The Duke being summon'd to Court, not only refus'd to obey, but flew into open Defiance by rising in Arms, which had no other Consequences but his own Ruin; for being deserted by his Soldiers, whose Superstition was affected by an extraordinary Inundation of the River *Severn*, he was proscrib'd, taken, and executed.

AFTER this Success *Richard* had no considerable Enemy to fear but the Earl of *Richmond*, who had been kept in nature of a Prisoner for a long Time in the Court of the Duke of *Brittain*; the Person of this Nobleman, *Richard* endeavour'd by all Means to secure in his own Power, especially upon Advice that his Enemies design'd to marry him to his Brother *Edward's* eldest Daughter, who had the indisputable Title to the Crown: To prevent this fatal Design, he resolv'd to add Incest to his other Crimes by marrying that Princess himself; in order to which he poison'd his Wife to make Room in his Bed, and at last got Possession of his Mistress's Person; but before he could put his impious Designs in Execution, the Earl of *Richmond*, spurr'd by an absolute Necessity, with some Troops and a few Followers of his Fortune, landed in *Wales*; the

the Esteem of the one added to the Detestation of the other soon drew a considerable Army to his Banners ; upon which *Richard*, with a Force that follow'd him more out of Fear than Inclination, marches against him, and at the Battle of *Bosworth* lost the Day, his Crown, and Life together ; but not till he had first given convincing Proofs of an undaunted Courage, which the Conscience of so many Crimes could not stagger ; a Resolution, which should have adorn'd a better Man, and defended a juster Title.

IN this wicked Prince ended the Reign of the *Plantagenets*, there being at this Time one Male left of that illustrious Family, who was afterwards sacrificed to the Security of *Richard's* Successor.

SUCH is the dismal Catastrophe of Ambition, whose fatal Consequences made so terrible a Havock in this Great Race, who had reign'd 300 Years with so much Glory to themselves, and Honour to their Country, and might in Probability have sat on this Throne till the End of the World, being so numerously branch'd, if they had not destroy'd one another by Discord and Civil Dissension, to gratify an impotent and boundless Thirst of Empire.



SECTION IV.

HENRY VII.

[1485.]



AFTER the Fight, Sir *William Stanley*, to whose Revolt from the Party of *Richard* was owing the Victory of *Richmond*, finding the Crown of the slain Usurper in the Field of Battle, plac'd the glorious Spoil on the Head of the fortunate Conqueror ; which Ceremony, seconded by the Acclamations of the Soldiers, who saluted him King, gave *Henry* a Title to a kind of military Election, tho' he was fonder of a Right by Conquest, and his Pretensions to the House of *Lancaster*, both which he seem'd to prefer to that which was his justest and strongest, the Matrimonial Title, the last being cemented by the Affections of the People, who were generally devoted to the House of *York* : This happy Union in
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the Person of *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Edward* the fourth, put an End to that fatal Division, which near fourscore Years had fill'd *England* with a constant Scene of Blood and Horror.

THIS *Henry Tudor* we may reckon among our great, wise and valiant Princes, tho' his natural Frugality, especially in his latter Years, degenerated into the neighbouring Vice of Avarice, which had very ill Consequences on the Property and Ease of his Subjects: My Lord *Bacon*, who has particularly wrote the Life of this Prince, has taken great Pains to set him out in the most shining Colours, as a perfect Pattern of consummate Wisdom; tho' after all, he seems rather to give the World an Idea what such a Prince should have been, than really what he was; his Virtues being stain'd by some Instances of Ingratitude and Cruelty, which last Quality seems to run in a constant Vein with one Exception, through the whole Race of *Tudor*, more or less, as we shall find in the Sequel of their Story.

Henry had no sooner confirm'd himself on his new Seat, by a Marriage with the Princess *Elizabeth*, but he shew'd an Instance of his Ingratitude by a Coldness and Neglect of that Princess, to whose Right he was so oblig'd for his own; which
Benefit

Benefit he was so unwilling to acknowledge, that he deferred the Coronation of his Queen as long as he could, till the Discontents and Murmurs of the People oblig'd him to that Ceremony; this impolitick Neglect of the House of *York* reviv'd the Affections of the Nation to that Family, and made him be haunted with those Spectres afterward, which disturb'd a great Part of his Reign.

THE Impostures of *Lambert Simnell*, and *Perkin Warbeck*, both supported by the Dutchess of *Burgundy*, a mortal Enemy to the House of *Lancaster*, are the most surprizing Incidents in the *English* Story; but since both these Adventures have been written so accurately by the great Lord *Bacon*, it would be an unnecessary Presumption to trouble the Reader with any Relation of those Affairs; for which reason I shall be shorter in the Account of this Reign, which has had the good Fortune to be illustrated by so great a Pen, and only take Notice of two indelible Blemishes in his imaginary Hero.

The first was the Cruelty shewn to *Edward Plantagenet* Earl of *Warwick*, who having been confin'd from his Infancy, first by *Richard* the third, and afterwards by the present King, was drawn into a Conspiracy by *Perkin Warbeck* a Prisoner at
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the same Time in the *Tower*, to make his Escape, which Attempt was justifiable by the Laws of Nature and Self-preservation; thus for no other Crime but too near a Title to the Crown, was this poor Prince put to death: But what aggravates the Barbarity was, that this *Perkin* underhand was employ'd purposely to decoy this unhappy Youth into that Design, that the suspicious *Henry* might have a Pretence to take away his Life: This Earl of *Warwick* was the last Male *Plantagenet*, and certainly an Object of Compassion, if it were only on account of his Simplicity and Innocence, occasion'd by his close Confinement; for it is reported, that he was so perfectly ignorant of the World, as to ask what Creature a Cock was when he saw one from his Window.

THE next will be an Instance of as much Ingratitude as Injustice in this Prince; Sir *William Stanley* his Chamberlain, the Person who had set the Crown on his Head after the Battle of *Bosworth*, was executed for Words only, which a very hard Construction could wrest into Treason: My Lord *Bacon* endeavours to palliate this Action by an Excuse, which, instead of Extenuation, aggravates the Horror of this Ingratitude; his Words are, *That the Death of this great Man was*
N *sweeten'd*

sweeten'd to Henry by a vast Confiscation; as if the Atrocity of the Fact, in taking away an innocent and deserving Man's Life, were lessen'd by an Addition of Injustice, in robbing his Posterity, Covetousness being a very ill Excuse for Murder; if the Historian had only defended this Conduct by the Necessity of the Times, and *Henry's* Apprehensions of Dangers, it would have been more pardonable, it being only a Weakness to be timorous, but a Crime to be unjust.

THE last Years of this King's Reign were totally spent in plundering the People, by reviving obsolete Penal Statutes, which brought into the *Exchequer* vast Confiscations, tho' attended by the Curses of the People; the two chief Instruments of this Oppression were, *Empson* and *Dudley*, two Projectors, who justly afterwards suffer'd for these Violences in the succeeding Reign of *Henry* the eighth, to make Way for whom, his Father opportunely died just as he came of Age, before he was disturb'd by the Ambition, great Spirit, and better Title of his Son, whose Principles probably would have very little restrain'd him from such a Conduct towards his Father.

H E N R Y VIII.

[1509.]

THE Greatness of Mind in this Prince, the Beauty of his Person, Magnificence, Courage, and other great Qualities, presag'd a more auspicious and shining Reign than what we shall see blacken'd by the highest Examples of barbarous Tyranny ; a Reign, which even the most flagitious of the *Roman Emperors*, *Christiern of Denmark*, *Don Pedro of Castile*, or the *Russian Vasilouich*, could not exceed in some Instances of Blood, Cruelty, and immense Profusion ; so just and true is that Assertion of the great *Raleigh*, *That if the Picture of Tyranny were lost, the Original might be retriev'd in the Life of this King* ; the very Commencement of whose Reign was stain'd with Blood, at which Time Princes generally turn their best Side outward, by Acts of Mercy and Indulgence, to give the People the better Impressions of their future Government.

THE first Noble Blood shed, was that of *Delapool Earl of Suffolk*, who had been detain'd in Prison several Years by *Harry the seventh*, who only spared his Life upon a Parole given to *Philip the Archduke*,
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when that Prince unworthily deliver'd this unfortunate Nobleman, upon a Promise not to take away his Life; but as if such an Evasion could salve his Honour and Conscience, *Henry* upon his Death-bed commanded his Son to secure him; a very odd Legacy of Blood to be left by a dying Man, whose Thoughts should have been otherwise imploy'd in the last Moments; this Injunction was not more uncharitably left by the Father than impolitickly executed by the Son, by which Action he gave his People a new Specimen of that Cruelty which so constantly rag'd the rest of his Reign, which commenc'd indeed with an Air of Magnificence and Grandeur above the Luxury of that Time; nothing to be seen but Tilts, Tournaments, Balls, and such Diversions, in which the King himself, very graceful in his Person, and *adroit* in his Exercises, had always the most considerable Part; but tho' these Entertainments might seem worthy a great young Prince, who had a mind to shew the World the Magnificence of his Court, yet they were very fatal in their Consequences, by giving him a constant Habit of Expence, till the Treasures of the Crown were so exhausted, as to put him upon those impious Measures to support his Necessities, by Sacrilege and unjust Confiscations.

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BUT now, to shew the World his Puissance and Power, as well as Riches and Grandeur, he resolv'd on a War with *France*, in which he was not so successful on an Element, which Nature seems to have appropriated to the Triumphs of the *English*; for in an Attempt upon *Brest*, his Fleet was defeated, and Sir *Edward Howard*, who commanded, being boarded by the *French* Gallies, was with a half Pike thrown into the Sea and drown'd; but tho' he was more fortunate in his Enterprizes on Land, yet the Success did not answer the Vastness and Expence of the Preparations; which were as Magnificent as Warlike; the *English* Camp in this Expedition having more the Air of the Eastern Luxury, than that rugged Simplicity and Plainness which made the Arms of our Ancestors at *Crecy* and *Poitiers* at once so terrible and successful: The very Sails of his own Ship, in which he went to *Calais*, were all Cloth of Gold, with all other proportionable Marks of Parade and Ostentation in the Furniture and other Habiliments of his Army, which were no sooner debark'd, but *Henry* immediately march'd and laid Siege to *Teroenne*; while he lay before this Place, the Emperor *Maximilian* came to the *English* Camp, and putting on the Cross of

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St. George, serv'd as a private Centinel, with a Stipend of an hundred Crowns *per Diem*, an Honour that was never done to any King before: The *French* resolv'd to raise the Siege, but were defeated in the Attempt, and from their making less Use of their Swords, than their Spurs, this Battle was call'd by that Name; upon this Success, instead of pursuing his Victories after the Surrender of this Town and also *Tournay*, which he took soon afterward, *Henry* spent the Residue of the Campaign in Balls and Revels, having several Ladies in the Camp to compleat these Diversions; while he lay before this last Place there happen'd a Passage, which I mention only to shew the different Notions of Honour in past Ages from what we find in our own degenerate Times; *James* the 4th of *Scotland*, in Defence of his ancient Ally the *French* King, sent his Herald *Lyon* King at Arms to defy *Henry*, and denounce War against him, in case he did not immediately desist from molesting his good Friend the King of *France*; *Henry*, having given Audience to the Herald, dismiss'd him with a considerable Reward and a Contempt of his Message: This is a much nobler Method of making War, than by a Violation of the Law of Nations to steal into one another's Territories,

tories, without any previous Declarations of Hostility, or the least Complaint of an Injury, and at the same time with the most solemn Asseverations deny by the Mouths of their Ministers any such Intention ; such is the Difference between little Burghers in a Common-wealth, and generous Princes, who think the Preservation of their Honour the chiefest Support of their Majesty : The King of *Scots*, to be as good as his Word, invades *England*, but was defeated by the Earl of *Surrey*, and slain at the Battle of *Flodden* ; this being the third King of *Scotland* either kill'd or taken Prisoner in the Invasion of *England* since the Conquest, which Consideration one would think should make *Buchanan* not brag so much of his Countrymens frequent Victories over the *English*.

Henry having taken these two Towns returns Triumphant, after a Consumption of more Treasure in this one Campaign, than some of his Ancestors spent in the Reduction of the whole Dutchy of *Normandy* ; this War, and his other riotous Expences, reduc'd him to great Necessities ; the Sum of One Million Eight Hundred Thousand Pounds, which was left in ready Money by his Father, being all wasted, besides the constant

Revenues of the Crown : This forc'd him to call a Parliament, who seem'd willing to supply the Necessities of the Government with as much as they thought reasonable ; but when Cardinal *Wolsey* demanded 800,000 *l.* which he propos'd should be rais'd by a Tax of four Shillings in the Pound, they fell into great Heats and Debates ; nevertheless at last, to comply with the King's Desires as far as they could, they agreed to two Shillings, which the People no sooner heard, but they threaten'd to tear their Representatives to Pieces for being so free of their Money ; by which we may see the different Tempers of our Ancestors and Ourselves, who are so much better Subjects, as lately to petition for heavier Taxes, after having given so many Years together twice that Sum ; so far can a Spirit of Faction transport Mankind even to punish themselves.

Henry, forc'd to be contented with this Supply, carry'd on the War against *France* till both Sides equally weary desir'd Peace, which was soon after ratify'd, when *Francis* the first of *France* was releas'd from his Captivity in *Spain*. This Peace with *France* made ill Blood between *Henry* and the Emperor *Charles* the fifth, which Misunderstanding partly laid

laid the Foundation of those Disorders, that have so much blacken'd the Memory of this Prince; for his Picque to the Emperor, and his own vicious Inclinations together, first made him hearken to any Notion of the Unlawfulness of the Marriage between himself and *Catharine of Aragon*, who was his Brother's Widow, and Aunt to *Charles* the fifth; for it is very unconceivable that such a Scruple should be real after 20 Years Cohabitation, the Lawfulness of this Marriage having been sufficiently canvass'd before, when they thought it necessary to have a Dispensation from the Pope: 'Tis thought that *Wolsey* first put this Notion into his Head to gratify his Revenge on the Emperor for making him miss the Papal Chair; others say, his Confessor *Longland* first stated this Matter, and that the *French* made some Scruple in this Point, when a Match was propos'd between the King's Daughter *Mary*, born of this Marriage, and the Duke of *Orleans*.

BUT the most probable Opinion is, that this voluptuous Prince rather follow'd the Dictates of his Lust, than any real Emotions of Conscience; for he had already fix'd his Affections on *Anne Bolen*, who had been bred with his Sister in the Court

Court of *France* ; the Charms of this new Mistress made him so much more disrelish his Wife, the Disparity of whose Age had render'd her not very agreeable at first, for she was somewhat older than *Henry* ; so that it is highly probable the Desire of a younger Bride made him so earnestly sue for a Divorce, in which Affair the Delays and Shuffling of the Court of *Rome* made him so impatient, that in Revenge he threw off the Obedience to that See, and was divorc'd by *Cranmer* at Home, made Archbishop of *Canterbury* for this Purpose : Thus was *Catharine* of *Aragon*, after so long a Conhabitation, and being the Mother of three Children, repudiated, a Woman of such exemplary Piety and other great Virtues, as gave a Reputation to the *Spanish* Wives.

AT the same Time *Henry*, not able to mortify his Passion any longer, privately married *Anne* of *Bolen*, who was a young Woman rather agreeable than handsome, but of greater Beauty than Reputation, having been bred in a Court that was too debauch'd for Virtue long to subsist unblemish'd ; but tho' she might be innocent in the main, she was certainly not of so clear a Character as a certain Author would insinuate, who has writ a tedious History of the great Revolution
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in the Church at this Time; but we must not too implicitly rely on the Credit of a Person whose Disingenuity in that Book, by a false Quotation of Records, in inserting some Words, and leaving out others, as they would make for his Purpose, besides the Partiality of his other Writings, has justly sunk him in the Opinion of all good Men long ago, nor is he now less despicable in the Eyes of his own Party; so that all the Dirt, that he has flung on Messieurs *Maimbourg* and *Varillas*, may be justly retorted on himself, if any thing could mortify a Man of so much Assurance, as to pick out those very Crimes to charge on others, of which his own Conscience must needs tell him he is so guilty himself; this is a very unaccountable Weakness, but common to all disingenuous Natures.

THIS Marriage of the King with *Anne Bolen* was the Ruin of *Wolsey*, who, if he did influence him in the Scruple of his first Marriage, never design'd to carry that Affair so far as that the King should marry that Lady, who was suspected of *Lutheranism*. The King, perceiving that the Cardinal juggled with him in this Matter, and underhand retarded his Divorce in the Court of *Rome*, with a Design to prevent his Marriage, began to be

be dissatisfy'd with him, and at last threw him to the Ground with as much Levity, as he had rais'd him before above the Condition of any Subject.

IN this Revolution of his Fortune *Wolfey* found very little Compassion, having disgusted the World by his Pride and Insolence when in Power, a Fault almost inseparable from the Meanness of his Birth and Profession; but the greatest Obloquy that he lay under was occasion'd by his procuring the Death of the Duke of *Buckingham*, the last Duke of that Noble Family; this gave Occasion to the Emperor *Charles*, according to the Wit of that Age, to make a wretched Clinch, in saying, *That a Butcher's Dog had worried the fairest Buck in Christendom.*

Wolfey, thus deserted by the King, was expos'd to the Malice of his Enemies, who charg'd him in Parliament with several Articles containing High Misdemeanors, one of which is very remarkable, *That having the French Pox upon him, he presum'd to breath in his Highness's Face*; either that Distemper was more infectious, or Majesty more sacred, in those Days than ours, for if such a Presumption was as criminal now, the *Levéés* and *Couchées* of Princes would not be so very much crowded.

THE Fall of *Wolsey* gave Rise to *Cromwell*, who was his Creature and Servant; his wonderful Fidelity to his Master, whom he so well defended when attack'd by the House of Commons, first recommended him to the King, who rais'd him soon after from an equal Meanness of Birth with that of his first Patron, to the Dignity of Earl of *Essex* and Vicar-General of *England*: This *Cromwell* was *Henry's* chief Instrument in demolishing Abbeys and Religious Houses, to which Attempt the King was first encourag'd by the Example of *Wolsey*, who had suppress'd some little Foundations to endow his Colleges at *Oxford* and *Ipswich*. It is certain, there were very great Abuses in these Places at this Time, which requir'd a Reformation; but on the other hand it is very ill Surgery to lop a Limb, while there is any Hopes of a Cure; there is no human Institution, but will be liable to some Errors and Inconveniencies; but if the Good on the other hand out-ballances the the Ill, we ought so to distinguish, as to preserve one and remove the other: These Places were first founded by the Piety of our Ancestors, with a charitable Design, to give a Retreat to such Persons as had a mind to detach themselves from the Affairs of the World, and dedicate their
Lives

Lives to the Service of God in a State of Quiet and Devotion: By these People were the Hungry fed, the Naked cloathed, and the Dead buried, with all other Acts of Charity which seem so essential to the Spirit of Christianity; but to all this may be objected, that tho' these were the Designs of the first Founders, these Houses by the Corruption of Time were degenerated into Nurseries of Sloth and Lewdness; however, tho' there might be some Instances of this Nature, it doth not follow that an Institution should be abolish'd for the Abuse of it, any more than that there should be no Inns to receive honest Travellers, because some publick Houses harbour Thieves and Highwaymen; a severe Visitation might have corrected these Abuses, without turning loose so many Religious into the World, which by the most solemn Vows they had abandon'd before, and in which the greatest Part were unable to subsist for Want of an Education to have qualified them for other Professions; but it is no Wonder if the looser Part of these People themselves willingly embrac'd this Release from their Vows, Mankind being generally more prone to Pleasure than Mortification and Penance; it is no Wonder if a great many thought it more agreeable to lie in
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a warm Bed, and in the Arms of a beautiful Wife, than in a Cell on a Mat, with Hair Shirts and Midnight Discipline: If these poor Orders have mistook the Way to Heaven, which they take so much Pains to find, all we can say is, that they are very unfortunate to deny themselves the Comforts of this World, and at last not to meet the Rewards of the next.

To the Want of these Retreats, especially Nunneries, in a great measure are to be ascrib'd the several Inconveniences we lie under at this Day; especially since the frequent Marriages of the meaner and indigent Clergy, who, having no temporal Estates to support their Families after their Death, leave their Wives and Daughters destitute and necessitous, who being too proud, or lazy, to work, often take ill Courses to subsist; all which might be prevented, if there were Places to receive and support them in a virtuous and comfortable Way of Life: From this Defect results the Lewdness of these abandoned Times, more than from any Viciousness in the Temper or Constitution of the *English*, since we so seldom find these Disorders in Women of Birth, Fortune and Education; while others in ill Circumstances generally sacrifice themselves to their Vanity and Necessities; the Desire of
fine

fine Cloaths, and to live voluptuously with Splendor, having too strong an Influence on the Virtue and Constancy of a young Woman, without a great Guard of Principle; especially when these Temptations meet with that Sweetness of Temper, that Softness and Good-nature, which is, or should be, essential to the charming Sex.

Henry, having glutted his Avarice with these Spoils, which in the Main did him no great Good, the greatest Part of these Lands being sold for almost nothing, or else given to the rapacious Courtiers, relaps'd into his old Fits of Cruelty, of which his new Wife *Anne Bolen* must now be the Object: Whether or no he really believ'd the Crime with which he charg'd her, Adultery, or else grown weary of her Embraces, remov'd her to make Way for another more agreeable, is uncertain; however, on a sudden she was committed to the *Tower*, and soon after arraign'd, condemn'd and beheaded: It is remarkable, that this Lady's own Father sat as one of her Judges, and gave the first Vote to pronounce her guilty; the World was surpriz'd that upon the Scaffold she neither own'd or deny'd her Crime, of which she took not the least Notice, tho' no less than Adultery and Incest with her own Brother;

ther: This seems to confirm the Proverb, That *Silence gives Consent*. The Lady *Catharine Howard*, afterward in the same Circumstances upon the same Occasion, tho' she own'd some Failings before Marriage with the King, asserted with the most solemn Asseverations her Fidelity to his Bed. This was natural, and makes the Conduct of the other the more unaccountable, that any innocent Woman should not think her self obliged in her last Moments to do Justice to her Reputation, when telling Truth could have no other Consequence but her own Justification. This gave a Handle to her Enemies to insinuate, that the Daughter she lately bore was begotten by her Brother, a young Man in the Flower of his Age and Vigour. Whereas *Harry VIII.* at this time began to grow unwieldy through an enormous Corpulence of Body, which, with other Debilities contracted by his constant Debauches, seem'd to render him less capable of getting a *Virago*. After all, her absolute Silence extinguish'd even the Charity of those, who, unwilling to think that Queen *Elizabeth* should be born of such a Mother, would have been glad of any Handle to believe that unfortunate Woman injur'd. Upon which he married *Jane Seymour*, by whom he had *Edward* the sixth, which Son,
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some report, he brought into the World with as much Violence as he us'd to fend his Wives out, by commanding the Belly of his Mother to be ripp'd when her Delivery was desperate ; but this Story, wanting Authority to support it, must not be affirmed.

AFTER the Death of *Jane Seymour*, he married *Anne of Cleve*, Daughter to the Duke of that Name in *Germany*, with whom, tho' he bedded constantly for six Months, he never consummated the Marriage, and at last most shamefully repudiated her : The next bold Woman who ventur'd to be his Wife was the Lady *Catherine Howard*, who soon after underwent the Fate of *Anne Bolen*, being accus'd of the same Crime, of which, as I have just now intimated, she averr'd her Innocence with the most solemn Protestations at her Death, tho' she own'd her self criminal before Marriage : Upon this pass'd a most absurd and unreasonable Act of Parliament, to make it Treason for any Woman, not a Virgin, to marry the King ; by which any pretended Maid, who had the Misfortune to be lik'd by *Henry*, was reduc'd to the Dilemma of spoiling her Fortune by accusing herself, which is contrary to the Law of Nature, or else to venture her Neck in case of a Discovery.

But

But his Inconstancy was not greater to his Mistresses than his Favourites, of which Levity in the King's Nature *Cromwell* some time before had tasted the Effects, who, falling into his Displeasure on the Account of making that Match with *Anne of Cleve*, was attainted by Parliament and executed.

AFTER this follow'd nothing but daily Executions, the most Noble Blood being pour'd like Water on the Ground by the Lust and Cruelty of an inhuman Prince, who seem'd now to have his Conscience fear'd, and to thirst the more for Blood the more he drank ; which when we consider, What an Idea must we form of this profligate Age, when Parliaments were so devoted to attain, Judges to condemn, and Juries to find guilty, the most Innocent, and sometimes the most Deserving, at the beck of such a brutal Tyrant, whose Fury equally rag'd against all Ranks, Sexes, and Conditions? No Greatness of Blood could protect the Nobility ; no Reverence to the Sanctity of their Profession, the most holy Prelates ; nor the Respect owing to the tender Sex, the most innocent Women, from being made Objects of his Cruelty ; for *Margaret Countess of Salisbury*, his own near Kinswoman, and the only surviving Person of the Nam

Plantagenet, Daughter to the Duke of *Clarence*, and Sister to that Earl of *Warwick*, who was so unjustly put to Death by *Harry* the seventh, was arraign'd and condemn'd for no other Crime, but writing an affectionate Letter to her Son *Reginald Pool*: This Lady, not more illustrious for her high Birth than Piety and other extraordinary Virtues, not thinking fit to submit to her unjust and infamous Sentence, struggled with the Executioner on the Scaffold; upon which she was forcibly drag'd down to the Block, by the Hands of a Ruffian entangled in her hoary Locks, made venerable by almost eighty Years, a Spectacle of Horror which would have rais'd Compassion in all Breasts susceptible of noble and generous Impressions.

THE valiant and noble Earl of *Surrey*, notwithstanding his great Services, underwent the same Fate; soon after which the Tyrant died himself, unpitied even by his own Creatures, and execrated by all good Men, having own'd himself to his Confessor, *That he had never spar'd Man in his Rage, nor Woman in his Lust*: The undisturb'd Reign, and peaceable Death of this cruel Prince in his Bed, shews the unaccountable Temper of the *English*, who have most commonly in all Ages been insolent and mutinous to their mild, lawful, and

and virtuous Princes; and on the other hand, fawning and submissive to Tyrants and Usurpers; otherwise it is unconceivable that *Harry* the eighth should die in his Bed, and *Charles* the first upon a Scaffold, a Prince, whose transcendant Virtues, so far above the rest of his Rank, have added a Dignity to the Name of *King*, and given a new Lustre to the Majesty of crown'd Heads: This King left his sixth Wife the Lady *Catharine Parre* a Widow, who happen'd to die a natural Death, by having the good Fortune so soon to lose her Husband; for a Warrant was actually sign'd to have sent her to the *Tower* for a Heretick next Day, if the King's sudden Illness and Death had not prevented the Execution of that Design. The Duke of *Norfolk* escap'd by the same propitious Incident; for he was to have follow'd his Son the Earl of *Surrey* that very Day, on which the Bounty of Heaven thought fit to relieve the World from such a Monster.

EDWARD VI.

[1547.]

E *DWARD* the sixth was no more than nine Years old upon the Death of his Father, by whom he was left under the Guardianship of twenty-eight Persons; but to avoid the Inconvenience of so many Governors, the young King's Uncle the Earl of *Hertford* was chosen Protector, and soon after made Duke of *Somerset*; this young Prince first establish'd the Re-form'd Religion, to which his Father had open'd the Way, by annulling the Pope's Supremacy, tho' that Prince himself died in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, if in any; if this King had reign'd any considerable Time, the Hierarchy of the Church would probably have been destroy'd, and the National Religion reduc'd to the Form of *Geneva*; for in this Reign the Bishoprick of *Durham* was dissolv'd, and most of the others robb'd of their Lands by *Dudley*, *Somerset*, and the other Courtiers, the first of whom, tho' he died a *Roman* Catholick, made no Scruple to swallow Church-Lands; these Lands were not taken by Force, but basely surrender'd by Men, who were made Bishops on that Condi-

Condition: *Ridley* particularly gave to the Crown the Flower of the Demefnes belonging to the See of *London*, by a solemn Indenture under his Hand; an odd Kind of Simony! It is common to give Money for Bishopricks, but these Men gave the Bishoprick for a Share of the Money and the Title; so that it is not unlikely that those Men, whose insatiable Avarice was yet unglutted with the Spoils of so many Religious Houses, would too easily have work'd on the Zeal and pliant Nature of this young Prince to have given away the Lands of the Church, on pretence of a purer Reformation; which impious Design about one hundred Years afterward involv'd three flourishing Kingdoms in a dismal Civil War and Confusion nineteen Years together. To the immature Death of this Prince, therefore, the Church of *England* at this Day owes the Preservation of her Revenues, and the Decency of a comely Worship in the Service of God; for *Somerſet* himself was a *Zuinglian*, and the rest of the great Men at this Time inclin'd more to those rigid Principles of *Calvinism*, which have disgrac'd the Reformation, than the present Constitution of the Church of *England*.

Edward had not been long under the Tuition of *Somerſet*, before the Artifices of *Dudley* Duke of *Northumberland* began to make a fatal Diviſion between his two Uncles, the Protector and the Admiral: This Miſunderſtanding was firſt created by the Folly and Vanity of their two Wives; the Protector's, ſeeing her Husband the firſt Perſon next to the King, thought ſhe ought to ſhare the ſame Pre-eminence in her Sex, and take Place of the Queen Dowager, who had married the Admiral the Protector's younger Brother: This Diſpute between the Women made ill Blood, and drew the Huſbands by degrees into the Quarrel, upon which *Somerſet* picqu'd, gave Way to the Accuſations againſt his Brother; which falſe Step ended in their mutual Ruin, by weakening their Interests; for the Admiral had no ſooner loſt his Head by a Warrant under the Hand of his Brother, but *Northumberland* began to foment a Faction at Court to undermine the Protector himſelf, which Point he carried at laſt, by diſpoſſeſſing him firſt of his Authority, and then his Life, on a Statute of his own making; for being charg'd with a Deſign to kill *Northumberland*, he was found guilty and beheaded: Some are of Opinion, he might have been ſav'd by pleading

pleading his Clergy ; but, whether he did not know that, or else that this Favour is not allowable in the Case of this Felony, he suffer'd the Law.

Dudley, having thus remov'd those who could the most oppose his ambitious Designs, perswaded the young King to destroy his Father's Testament, and disinherit his two Sisters, by leaving the Crown to the Daughters of the Duke of *Suffolk*, to the eldest of whom he had purposely married his fourth Son the Lord *Guilford Dudley*. And now he thought it high time the King should live no longer ; for he died soon after, in the sixteenth Year of his Age, and the sixth of his Reign, a very hopeful young Prince, of whom the famous *Cardan*, who saw and personally convers'd with him, has given us a very great Character, both as to his natural and acquir'd Parts, which he had improv'd above his Years in all manner of manly Erudition: The Precipitation of his Death, if not immediately caus'd, was generally ascrib'd to the Ambition of *Northumberland*, who had placed his Son the Lord *Robert*, afterwards the famous Earl of *Leicester*, about his Person ; after which Time the King was observ'd never to enjoy his Health.

How

How little Power the Testament of the King has in the Disposal of the Crown, will be seen in the short and mock Reign of the Lady *Jane Gray*, which lasted no more than ten Days ; for tho' the two Princesses *Mary* and *Elizabeth* were legitimated and illegitimated, according to the Power of the prevailing Faction, or the Caprice of their Father ; notwithstanding that, they both successively ascended in due Order the Throne, according to the Prescription of the Laws and Custom of *England* ; so little at this time regarded were all such irregular Proceedings, which, not establish'd originally upon a Foundation of Right and Justice, were no longer in Force than Power and Faction could support them.

M A R Y I.

[1553.]

TH E Princess *Mary*, eldest Daughter to *Henry* the eighth, by *Catharine* of *Aragon*, was remote in the Country when her Brother died, which gave *Northumberland* an Opportunity to enforce the Will of King *Edward*, and
proclaim

proclaim the Lady *Jane Gray* Queen of *England*, a young Lady of extraordinary Qualifications above her Sex and Age, who, in Complaisance to her Father, accepted a Crown, which she had Greatness of Mind otherwise to have despis'd: Upon this, *Mary* writes a Letter to the Council to demand her Right; to which the Lords return her an insolent and peremptory Answer, That she was illegitimated by Parliament, and had no Right: After which, they send the Duke of *Northumberland* with an Army to suppress her, while at the same time the Gentry of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, flocking to the Princess, proclaim her at *Norwich*: This put the Council into a great Consternation, and made every one endeavour to shift for himself, by making his own Peace. Here we shall see an Example of the basest Treachery that ever was committed by Men, who are distinguish'd by particular Marks of Honour from the rest of their Fellow Subjects; the Duke of *Northumberland*, when he was to march against the Princess, began to make some Scruples, apprehending indeed what afterwards came to pass: Upon this the whole Privy Council, by the most solemn Asseverations, declar'd they would live and die with him; yet these same abandon'd

don'd Men, by the Time that *Northumberland* was arriv'd at *Cambridge*, revolt from the Lady *Jane*, and proclaim the Princess *Mary*; but what is more unaccountably base, the same Persons afterwards sat upon him as Judges, and condemn'd him to die for a Treason, which they themselves had commission'd him to act; such was the End of all the ambitious Projects of this Great *Dudley*, who, though he was one of the most wicked and flagitious Men of his Time, yet he deserv'd a fairer Trial, and more proper Judges than those, who, guilty of the same Crime, should have been Companions of his Fate; such was that Order of Men, of whom the Folly of our Laws has made it criminal to speak Truth.

WITH *Dudley* were beheaded two more, which was all the Blood shed at this Time, and upon this Occasion; which is a convincing Proof of the merciful Disposition in this Queen, who was by much the least inclin'd to Cruelty of all the *Tudor* Race; This is own'd by Dr. *Burnet* himself; who says, she was a Woman of great Bowels: This Confession proceeded not from any Principle of Sincerity in that Author, who is seldom guilty of doing too much Justice to his Enemies; but from a Design in taking away the Odium from the Queen,

Queen, to lay a greater on her Religion. *Edward* the sixth was so very young when he died, we cannot be certain what he might have prov'd at last ; but we shall seldom find an Example of so much Goodness, as to let a Rival in Empire live, who had been proclaim'd Queen, and acted as such, by which she had forfeited her Life ; nevertheless *Mary* put not the Lady *Jane* to Death in some Time, till the Folly and Ingratitude of her Father the Duke of *Suffolk*, by rising in Arms again, made the Life of his Daughter and the Safety of the Queen incompatible : Upon which, the poor Lady *Jane*, with her Husband the Lord *Guilford Dudley*, was beheaded ; tho' the Queen had a great Inclination to save her, if Reasons of State had not render'd Mercy impracticable ; the Necessity of this Justice being heighten'd by the Insurrection of *Wyat*, who at the same time was in Arms against the Queen ; so that we must not absolutely charge upon her the Death of so many poor People who suffer'd on Account of Religion ; this was rather the Fault of the Constitution at this Time, than the Queen's Nature, the Secular Power being only the Executioner of the Ecclesiastical Sentence.

THE Insurrection of *Wyat* being suppress'd, *Mary* proceeded in her Match with

with *Philip* Prince of *Spain* : In the next Parliament was restor'd the Supremacy of the Pope, in which Sessions the whole Nation by their Representatives receiv'd Absolution from the Hands of Cardinal *Pool*, and thus freed from the Schism, as they call'd it, were received into the Bosom of the Church : By this we may see the Levity and looser Principles of this profligate Age, who changed their Religion as often as their Prince : The Year after this Marriage there was great Hope of the Queen's Conception, which vanish'd at last in a Tympany ; this Disappointment, together with an ill Habit of Body, increased by her Discontent for the Absence of *Philip*, the Loss of *Calais* to the *French*, and other concurrent Causes, made so deep an Impression on the Spirit of this Princess, as soon after shorten'd her Life, by flinging her into a Fever of which she died.

ELIZA.

ELIZABETH.

[1558.]

ELIZABETH, the only surviving Heir of *Harry* the eighth, succeeded according to Right and her Father's Testament, notwithstanding she had been bastardiz'd by Act of Parliament on the Disgrace of her Mother. As this Reign makes one of the greatest Figures in the *English* Story ; so it is a Demonstration, that the Fair Sex have a Genius equally capable of Government with Men, if they had the Advantages of the same Education. This Princess revers'd all that her Sister had done in Favour of the *Roman* Catholick Religion, which she abolish'd, and restor'd the Reform'd : In this Affair she proceeded gradually with great Prudence and Temper, by which Conduct she prevented the dangerous Consequences of too hasty a Change : The first Step was, to order that the Service of the Church should be read in the vulgar Tongue ; after which, she by degrees abolish'd the Supremacy of the Pope, and assum'd that Title to herself, which at first seem'd a Jest to the rest of the World, by reason of the Incapacity of her Sex for the Ministerial Function : Tho' all this was

was done by Authority of Parliament, which was so necessary to give a Sanction to this Change; however she took some Measures at first which were equally illegal, tho' not so fatal as to one of her Successors; this was an assuming to herself, by Virtue of her Prerogative, a Power of dispensing with the Laws; for she remov'd the School-masters of *Eton* and *Winchester* upon no other Pretence, but because they were Catholicks, and plac'd in their Room Protestants, before she had call'd any Parliament to repeal those Laws, which had made Popery the establish'd Religion of the Country: This Action was undoubtedly as arbitrary in this Queen, as the same Measures of the late King *James*; it being equally as great a Violation of the Constitution, for a Protestant Prince to dispense with Popish Laws, as for a Catholick with Protestant; but such is the Partiality of Mankind to their own Cause, as to call the same Actions Crimes in their Enemies, which they reckon Virtues in their Friends.

THIS Change of Religion being quietly settled, Queen *Elizabeth* was solicited by her Parliaments to change her Condition, and give the People Hopes of Posterity to fill the Throne; which Propositions she always heard with Indignation,

tion, and rejected the Offers of several Princes, who aspir'd to her Bed; among whom her Brother-in-Law, King *Philip*, was the first and most considerable, who, foreseeing the Objection that might arise from her being Sister to his former Wife, offer'd to procure a Dispensation from the Pope: As a Consent to this Proposal would have been an Acknowledgment of the Authority which she had abrogated; so it would also have confirm'd the Marriage of her Father with his first Wife Queen *Catharine*, and made her own Mother's unlawful; upon which this Proposal was rejected, as well as all other Pretensions: The Reasons that might engage this Princess to lead a single Life are uncertain; some think, this Resolution proceeded from a boundless Thirst of Power, of which she could not find in her Heart to communicate a Share even to a Partner of her Bed; others say, she was conscious of some natural Infirmities, which incapacitated her for such a State of Life: whatever the true Reason was, she reign'd with more Glory than with the greatest Partner in the Empire of the Universe; and had she not stain'd her other Virtues by that infamous Conduct to the Queen of *Scots*, she had gone to the Grave with the Character of being as Good, and Just,

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as

as she was Wise, and Great; but the Cruelty of her Father was a little too predominant in her Nature.

THE first Occasion of drawing her Sword were the Troubles of *Scotland*; in which Affair the Measures she took redounded not so much to her Interest and Advantage, as they were destructive to her Honour and Conscience. How far one Prince may assist the Rebels of another, in Time of actual War, I leave to Civilians and Casuists to decide; but to raise and encourage Sedition among the Subjects of another Prince, with whom there is outwardly a good Understanding, is certainly a Violation of the Laws of Nations, and all that is Sacred between Man and Man: The Tumults in *Scotland* about Religion, so scandalous to the Reformation, gave an Opportunity to Queen *Elizabeth* to foment a Faction against the Queen of *Scots*, of whose Title to the Crown of *England* she was so jealous; for if the Marriage between her Father and *Anne of Bolen* were not lawful, *Mary of Scotland* had undoubtedly a certain Right, to which she inopportunately laid Claim upon her Marriage with *Francis* the second, by quartering the Arms of *England*. Tho' this imprudent Conduct in the Queen of *Scots* might justly irritate

tate and disgust *Elizabeth*; yet she had Reason to be satisfy'd afterward, when, upon a Treaty between them, the *Scotch* Queen renounced all Claim and Pretence to the Crown of *England*, during the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*: This was a greater Confirmation of her Title, than if it had never been disputed before; tho' at the same Time she refus'd to ratify the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, in which there were some Clauses relating to the Subjects of *Scotland*, in which *Elizabeth*, without any just Reason, would intermeddle.

THE Queen of *Scots*, upon this Refusal, was deny'd Leave to pass through *England* to her own Kingdom; but, what was more ungenerous than this Denial, a Fleet was sent to intercept her in her Passage by Sea: But, notwithstanding all the Vigilance of the *English*, in a great Fog she went by their Fleet undescry'd, and arriv'd safely in *Scotland*, where we cannot chuse but pity this poor Princess, who was now oblig'd to live among such lamentable Creatures as the *Scotch* Fanaticks, after having been bred in the politest Court of the Universe: She had not been long at Home, when the Ambition of her bastard Brother the Earl of *Murray*, on whom she herself had confer'd that Title,

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began

began by his Artifices to lay the Foundations of all those Evils which involv'd this poor Princess in great Troubles the rest of her Life, and at last terminated in her final Destruction; all which Misfortunes were immediately owing to the unjust Politicks of Queen *Elizabeth*, who always underhand, and sometimes openly, abetted the Rebellion of *Mary's* Subjects, even when she most pretended to be her Friend and support her Cause; till at last she had reduc'd this unfortunate Queen to a Necessity of demanding that Protection, which she had not the Generosity to give her.

THE Queen of *Scots*, after a Treatment in her own Country which fill'd the rest of Mankind with Horror, thought she could fly no-where so properly for Refuge, as to her Sister of *England*, whom Honour, Conscience, Good-nature, and Nearness of Blood, oblig'd to protect her; but the unhappy Queen was mistaken, she had only now escap'd from her own barbarous Subjects, to fall into more cruel and inhospitable Hands: The ill Usage of this Princess in both Kingdoms must give the rest of the World a strange Idea of our Barbarity, it being impossible such Beauty and Majesty in Distress could want Protection in any Country, where the
Men

Men were susceptible of Love, Honour, or Pity.

Mary was no sooner arriv'd in *England*, but she sent a Letter to *Elizabeth*, in which she gave her an Account of her Circumstances, and begg'd her Protection, desiring at the same time to be admitted to her Presence, that she might have an Opportunity to clear herself from the slanderous Aspersions, with which her Enemies had loaded her; of these the chief were *Knox* and *Buchanan*, the first of whom was a turbulent Preacher and mutinous Enthusiast; the other would have been the greatest Writer among the Moderns, if his Sincerity, the most necessary Quality in an Historian, had been equal to his Genius and Capacity; but notwithstanding he had so much endeavour'd to blacken the Character of his Mistress, by the most impudent Falshoods that Disingenuity and Malice could invent, when he came to die, which is a Time, if ever, one may venture to believe even a *Scotch* Fanatick, he recanted all that he had said derogatory to the Honour of that injur'd Queen. This Request, tho' so very reasonable, *Elizabeth* thought fit to deny; but the true Reason was, the Envy she bore to the Beauty of *Mary*, to whom she was unwilling to be a Foil by being seen at the same Time; the Desire of being ad-
P 3 mired,

mired, as it is the most common Passion in the fair Sex, so it was the most deeply rooted in *Elizabeth*, which Vanity was supported by the Insincerity of her Looking-glasses; but notwithstanding the good Opinion which *Elizabeth* had of herself, the Queen of *Scots* was too incontestable a Rival for such a Dispute, being as much above her in the Empire of Beauty, as below her in that of Fortune: To these Charms of her Person, and the natural Vivacity of her Wit, she had added the Ornaments of Letters, a great Knowledge in Books and foreign Languages, being Mistress not only of the Living, but the Dead; with all other Qualifications, not only uncommon to her Sex, but even admir'd in Men, who make those Accomplishments their only Business.

THESE distinguishing Charms were none of the least Causes of *Mary's* Misfortunes, by first making ill Blood in the Heart of *Elizabeth* towards her: In Confirmation of this Opinion, *Melvil* tells a Story that is not a little ridiculous, That being ask'd by the Queen how her Sister of *Scotland* danc'd, he reply'd, except your Majesty, the best in the World; which she taking only for a Compliment to herself, shew'd a visible Change in the Air of her Countenance, and immediately retir'd into her Closet,

Closet, and, as he says, wept two Hours; how he came to be acquainted with that Secret, I cannot inform the Reader: By this we may see how liable we are to be mistaken, when we judge of Causes and Effects by the outward Appearance of Things; whereas, could we dive into the secret Recesses of Man's Mind, we should find some of our most hidden and ridiculous Passions gave Birth to the most important Events, and govern the World.

THE Queen of *Scots*, unable to get Admittance, now plainly saw what she must expect at the Hands of a cunning and jealous Woman, who had given her civil Invitations, and so many Promises of Protection, only to draw her within her Power: But tho' the World was generally so abandoned at this Time, there were some few of the *English* who had Compassion for distress'd Innocence; among the Nobility, the chief were the Duke of *Norfolk*, one of the most considerable Subjects of *Europe* at this Time, the Earl of *Sussex*, and *Leicester* himself, who, tho' one of the worst of Men, pretended at least to be ashamed of this infamous Conduct; but the Generosity of the Duke had the more fatal Consequences on the Life and Fortune of that worthy Nobleman, who, impos'd on by the Craft and Cunning of

Leicester, was drawn into a Design of Marriage with the Queen of Scots. *Murray* himself had first propos'd this Match to the Duke, with a Design to finish the Ruin of the Queen his Mistress with *Elizabeth*, whose jealous Nature he knew would entertain the last Apprehension of such an Alliance ; this Amour was carried on by secret Intrigues and several Love-Letters to Queen *Mary*, all which were constantly intercepted, and came to the Hands of Queen *Elizabeth*.

THO' the Duke might be hurried by his Passions of Love and Ambition to pursue this Match with some Warmth and Earnestness ; however, he never design'd to accomplish that Affair without the Queen's Knowledge, and Leave first obtain'd ; in order to which he desir'd *Leicester* to procure her Consent, which he promis'd to do, tho' he never design'd to serve the Duke ; for he daily deceiv'd him, by pretending a Want of Opportunity ; upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* resolv'd to speak himself, but was prevented by the fresh Assurances that *Leicester* gave him of performing his Promises immediately : But *Leicester*, instead of managing this Affair with Sincerity, when he saw a proper Juncture of ill Circumstances for the Duke, finish'd his Ruin ; for observing the Queen
grow

grow daily more jealous of the Duke's design'd Marriage, which was no Secret to her, and at the same time alarm'd with the Noise of a Rebellion in the North, he thought this the most proper Time to make his villainous Designs succeed, when the Queen's Fears thus heighten'd made her the more susceptible of any Impressions: To this Purpose the perfidious *Leicester* counterfeits himself sick, and pretends to be in the last Danger; upon which the Queen, who had always a great Affection for him, came to make him a Visit; when being alone together, *Leicester*, after several Grimaces, and counterfeited Sighs, on pretence of discharging his Conscience, sets forth the dangerous Consequences of this Amour between the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots*; not letting *Elizabeth* know, that he had been commissioned by the Duke to ask her Consent; but made as if this Discovery had meerly proceeded from a Sense of her Danger, and his own Compunction and Penitence.

THIS Trick had its design'd Success; *Elizabeth*, with all the Fear and Jealousy of her Sex, swallows the Bait, and sends the Duke to the *Tower*; soon after which he was condemn'd and executed; This *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk* had the
 vastest

vastest Demesnes of any Subject ever in *England*, which gave him an Occasion to say at his Trial, that his own private Patrimony was greater than the Revenues of the Crown of *Scotland*: All this vast Estate was given away among the hungry Courtiers, without Regard to the Innocence of his Children.

THIS Example of Perfidy will give the World a Character of *Leicester*, who had all the Ambition and ill Principles of his Father *Northumberland*; he broke the Neck of his Wife down Stairs to make Room in his Bed, when he should have the Happiness to accomplish his Designs on Queen *Elizabeth*, the Hopes of which made him obstruct the Match, underhand, which *Elizabeth* had proposed between the Queen of *Scots* and himself, who prefer'd the happy Grandeur of his own plain Mistress, to the unfortunate Beauty of the most charming Woman then alive: But *Leicester* was not alone in this Court, which had the most wicked Ministry that ever was known in any Reign.

AFTER this, Queen *Elizabeth* began to exercise great Severity on the *English Roman* Catholicks, to which she was instigated by *Leicester*, *Walsingham*, and others, who, having already tasted the Sweetness of Confiscations, design'd to make that Party desperate

desperate by ill Usage, in hopes they would rebel and forfeit their Estates ; but when Truth enough could not be found against them, *Walsingham*, by counterfeit Letters, and Confessions extorted by the Pains and Terrors of the Rack, tumultuated the People with chimerical Dangers, only to prepare them for the intended Murder of the Queen of *Scotland*, in whose Behalf the Remonstrances from the several Courts of *Europe*, join'd to the Condescensions of this poor Princess, who offered to sign a *Charte blanche*, and ratify whatever should be demanded, were all to no Purpose ; nor was there indeed any just Ground to hope for her Liberty, after the Measures that Queen *Elizabeth* had lately taken, by which she convinc'd the World of her ill Intentions to *Mary*, by suppressing the small Remnant of a Party who adhered to her in *Scotland* ; for she assisted *Morton* with Men and Cannon in the Reduction of *Edinburgh* Castle, which was defended by some gallant Men, who, in so general a Corruption, retain'd a Sense of their Honour and Duty : These brave Men, compell'd to surrender, were sacrificed to the Revenge of *Morton*, who was made Regent by the Interest and Power of *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the whole World knew how great a Hand that Nobleman

had

had in the Assassination of the late King; nor was she less concern'd to save his Life, when by the divine Justice he was afterwards brought to condign Punishment for that horrid Murder, which he own'd at his Death; the forward Appearance of *Elizabeth*, in Behalf of a Man condemned for so flagitious a Crime, gave her Enemies an Occasion to affirm, that she was not unacquainted with the Design of that Murder: But however, she made herself a Party, and contracted a Share of the Guilt, in supporting the known Assassines to the very last; but we shall have the less Reason by and by to wonder at any Thing she did to *Darnley*, when we see what an Outrage will be committed on the Person of his unfortunate Widow, whose Catastrophe now approach'd.

THE Emissaries and Creatures of *Walsingham*, who was the most deeply dipped in the Blood of this Princess, had inveigled several Catholicks and others into a Design of rescuing the Queen of Scots by Force of Arms; for this *Babington* and others were executed: The People frightened, and alarm'd with this Conspiracy, they thought it a proper Time to bring on the Tragedy, which they had been so long preparing; at first they were at a Loss on what Statute to indite her: That of the
25th

25th of *Edward* the third not laying hold on her Case, they resolve to proceed on a Statute made in this Reign, some time before, for this very Purpose; but the Queen of *Scots*, asserting her Sovereignty and Independance, refus'd to acknowledge the Authority of any earthly Court, till threaten'd to be condemn'd for Contumacy. After having in vain requested to be heard before the Queen in Parliament, she submitted to her Trial, at which Time she confess'd, *That through Despair of her Liberty, she had endeavour'd to make her Escape, in which she thought herself justified by the Laws of Nature and Self-preservation; but as to any Design against the Person or Authority of the Queen, with the most solemn Asseverations she declared her Innocence.* Nevertheless the barbarous Delegates, some time after, proceeded to the infamous Sentence; and, that the whole Nation might share the Guilt, it was contrived afterward, that the Parliament should solicit the Queen of *Scots* Death, which *Elizabeth* was to deny several times, till at last she should seem to comply, as if tir'd with the repeated Remonstrances of her People: The House of Lords particularly distinguished themselves in this Affair by an Address against the Queen of *Scots*, worded in a very ridiculous

diculous Cant, setting forth the Judgments of God on *Saul*, for sparing the Life of *Agag*, and on *Ahab* for *Benhadad*; thus were the Scriptures perverted to destroy an innocent Woman: This odd Petition, much fitter for Fanatick Tub-preachers, than Cavaliers and Men of Honour, must give us a strange Idea of the Nobility at this Time.

Now follow'd the second Act of Hypocrisy in Queen *Elizabeth*, through a Shame to justify what she had so little Conscience as to command: The Queen of *Scots* must be executed without her Knowledge; but the Person must be very ignorant of the World, who could be impos'd on by such a Shift; every-body, who is acquainted with the Government and Constitutions of *England*, knows that the Privy-Council, and the Ministers of the Law, durst not proceed in any Affair of that Nature, especially in so unprecedented a Case, without the Authority of the sovereign Power; but supposing a Possibility of that extraordinary Conduct in the Privy-Council, it is unconceivable that no-body in the meanwhile should acquaint the Queen with what was transacted, who had Time enough to have countermanded the Order for the Execution, if she had inclin'd to Mercy; however *Davison* the Secretary, to blind the
World,

World, as if he had acted on his own Head, was sentenc'd in the Star-Chamber to pay 10000 *l.* Fine, and to suffer Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure; but underhand the Fine was remitted, and he privately rewarded; tho' at his Trial he made it appear in his own Defence, notwithstanding he was as tender as he could of the Queen's Honour, that he had acted nothing in this Affair, but for what he had plain Insinuations of her Pleasure, tho' not positive and direct Commands; so that the whole Juggle is plain by *Davison's* own Vindication, who was brought into the Office merely to serve this Turn.

It is reported that *Leicester*, who, tho' he had no more Conscience than the rest, was a Man of better Sense, came to the Queen, and conjur'd her not to commit so infamous an Action, which would strike at herself, and affront the common Majesty of crown'd Heads; upon which the Queen ask'd him, *What she should do in this Case? Send an Apothecary, Madam,* (reply'd *Leicester*) *and not a Hangman; if she must die, let it be done with Decency.* Prudence would certainly have rather follow'd this Advice; for if she had Authority to put her to Death, the Manner, as to the conscientious Part, was a Thing indifferent; this would have prevented the

the ill Consequences of so dangerous a Precedent, which as *England* only could give, so the horrid Example could be follow'd in no other Country beyond the Bounds of our unfortunate Island; for when it was debated among the Regicides, what they should do with the Person of this Queen's Grandson *Charles* the first, *Harry Martin* propos'd to serve him as they had his *Scotch* Grandmother before.

The Manner of this Queen's Death, her Resignation to the Will of God, her Greatness of Spirit, which seem'd supported by some other Power, than the common Assistance of natural Courage, have recommended her Name to the Veneration of future Ages, and cover'd the Authors of this barbarous Cruelty with indelible Infamy and Reproach; the Persons, who were commission'd to see the Execution perform'd, were the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby*, and *Cumberland*, one * of whom had so divested himself of common Humanity, as to toss up his Cap, and Huzza, at the cutting off the most charming Head that ever wore a Crown: But this was not the only Circumstance of

* *Kent*.

Barbarity shewn to this Princess; they would not permit her Women to take care of her Body when the Blow was given, which would have prevented some Indecencies that happened, and would have hindered the Hangman from telling the World the Colour of her Garters; nor was this all, they carried their Cruelty to such a Degree, as to deny her the Assistance of her ghostly Father in her last Agony, a Favour not refus'd by Christian Charity to the most common Malefactor; they resolv'd to be all of a Piece, and shew no more Mercy to her Soul than Body.

SUCH was the deplorable Fate of *Mary*, Sovereign Queen of *Scotland*, and Dowager of *France*, in a Country, whither she was invited by the most solemn Assurances of Protection, Honour and Safety; all which were violated, first by an Imprisonment of nineteen Years, and afterwards by an infamous Death: This unparallel'd Action justly fill'd with Horror and Resentment all the other Princes in *Europe*, who had in vain solicited her Cause.

IN the mean while *Elizabeth*, conscious of the Obloquy she had contracted by this Cruelty, pretended to resign herself to Horror, and Contrition; she drove her Counsellors from her Presence, and seem'd inconsolable, by abstaining from Meat and
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Light,

Light for a time; she wrote a Letter to the King of *Scots* to excuse the Death of his Mother, by laying the Blame on her Ministers, who, she pretended, had acted in this Affair without her Knowledge: *James* the sixth at first would not see the Messenger, and seem'd full of Resentment for this Indignity offer'd to himself in the Person of his Mother; however by degrees he mollify'd, and at last contracted a firm Friendship with her by an Easiness and Good-nature, which have been so fatally Hereditary to his Family.

BUT notwithstanding, a great deal of this pretended Sorrow was nothing but Grimace and Hypocrisy; it is certain, that upon cooler Thoughts *Elizabeth* felt great Remorse of Conscience for this Cruelty, insomuch that she never afterward enjoy'd the same Quiet of Mind as before, being sensible how much her Reputation suffer'd on this Account.

THE Pretence of revenging this universal Affront, gave a Colour to the *Spaniard* in his design'd Invasion of *England*, which Attempt happen'd soon after, in the wonderful Year 88. When we consider this stupendous Design, the Vastness of the Preparations, in which three Years were consum'd, the Greatness of the Armament, both as to Number and Largeness of the Ships,

Ships, on which 19000 Landmen were imbark'd, with all manner of warlike Provisions proper for such an Expedition, which was supported by the Purse, and Puissance, of the greatest Monarch at this Time in the Universe; we cannot sufficiently adore the divine Goodness in frustrating this Attempt, and rescuing our Ancestors from the Hands of the worst Masters, and most cruel People under the Sun; for if the Prince of *Parma*, Governour of the *Spanish* Netherlands, had once made a Descent with 50000 Veteran Troops join'd to the 19000 *Spaniards* on Board, the Fate of *England* in probability had been decided, and we at this Day a Province to *Spain*, notwithstanding any Defence that could be made by the raw Militia encamp'd at *Tilbury*; for it is an Observation worthy to be remark'd, that notwithstanding the Inhabitants of this Island have in all Ages been Brave in their Persons, and Tenacious of their Liberty to the last Extremity, however, by an unaccountable Fatality, this Country has always been subdu'd by every Nation, who once set Foot on Shoar with a form'd Design of Conquest; witness the successful Invasions first of *Romans*, then *Saxons*, then *Danes*, and lastly *Normans*.

THE Defeat of this vast Armada brought the *English* into as much Reputation, as the *Spaniard* into Contempt, whose ill Success in this Expedition gave the first Blow to that over-grown Monarchy, whose boundless Ambition, supported by so great Power, was justly grown formidable to the rest of their Neighbours.

Elizabeth, elated with this unexpected Success, pursu'd her good Fortune, and, not contented to repel her Enemies, follow'd them to their own Doors, and carried the Terror of her Arms to *Spain* itself, where she shew'd that Nation a more successful Way of Invasion, by taking *Cadiz* with a Fleet and Army, under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, who succeeded *Leicester* in her Favour, and was thought to lie the deepest in her Heart of any Minion: This young Nobleman, beautiful and brave in his Person, elated by the Favour of his Mistress, could endure, thro' an Insolence and Fierceness in his Temper, no Rivals in Power and Authority; this made him, by fomenting a Sedition, and all the Arts of Popularity, endeavour to remove his Enemies *Raleigh* and *Cecil*, who were of the contrary Faction to his Interest: For this Behaviour being chastis'd by the Queen, he grew so impatient, and desperate,

rate, as to fly into open Rebellion; for which Crime he was at last put to Death, after a great Struggle and Reluctance in the Breast of the Queen, who could hardly consent to the Death of a Person for whom once she had so tender an Affection. The Death of this great Favourite disturb'd the last Scenes of her Life, and flung her into a settled and habitual Melancholy, in which she died after a long, glorious and prosperous Reign, which would have been more shining in Story, if her Stars had not made her Contemporary with the Queen of *Scots*. On her Death-bed she gave Orders that no one should see or touch her Body, except one particular Lady, whom she appointed to lay her out; this confirms the Opinion of those who believe it was the Conscience of some natural Defect that made her averse to Marriage. The Death of this great Princess put an End to the Name of *Tudor*, and made Way for the most virtuous Race that ever sat on the Throne of *England*.



SECTION V.

JAMES I.

[1603.]



IN the Death of Queen *Elizabeth*, *James* the sixth of *Scotland* succeeded, who being descended from *Margaret Tudor*, Daughter to *Henry* the seventh, united in his Person all the several Pretences to the Crown of *England* that could be derived from the respective Races of Kings that ever had the Government of this Island; so that the *British*, *Saxon*, *Danish*, and *Norman* Blood, thus center'd in the Veins of this King, gave the Family of *Stuart* a clearer Title to the Crown than any Sovereign House in *Europe* can boast.

UPON the first News of *Elizabeth's* Death, *James*, who could hardly believe his good Fortune, by easy Journeys came to *London*, leaving the barren Heaths and Moun-

Mountains of the North, for a more southern, fruitful, and opulent Kingdom ; this Union of the two Crowns did not add more to the Fortune of the King, by an Increase of Riches, Grandeur, and Power, than to the mutual Happiness of both People, who, from hereditary and almost implacable Enemies, were made Friends, and Fellow-Subjects.

THE Advantages, with which this Prince came to the Crown, were so very great, as to give him an Opportunity of establishing not only his own, but the Safety and Quiet of his Successors, if he had follow'd the prudent Conduct of his Predecessor *Elizabeth* in crushing, by a necessary Severity, a certain Faction of Men, then call'd *Puritans*, whose Principles are inconsistent with Monarchical Government: These Men had no sooner erected their venomous Heads, in the Reign of that Princess, but they were opportunely suppress'd by the Vigilance of the Government, in enacting Penal Laws, which were put in Execution with all the Rigour that their flagitious Principles deserv'd ; to this wise Conduct is chiefly owing the Quiet of so long and prosperous a Reign ; but *James*, with a Lenity so inseparable from his Family, was willing to shew himself the common Father of all his Subjects, and tho' he did not

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much

much encourage, however, by not punishing with Severity, he gave the Faction Opportunity to increase in Number, and diffuse their Poison.

THO' this fatal Neglect had not such an immediate Influence on the Happiness of his own Reign, however the ill Consequences were deferr'd to disturb the Peace of his Son's : This Tenderness was the more wonderful in a Prince, who had so dearly to his Cost experienc'd the Principles of these Men in his own Country, where he had been treated with so much Disrespect by his Presbyterian Subjects, besides the horrid Usage of his Mother, whom they forc'd into Exile, after having loaded her with so many Indignities at Home : But the Truth is, there is some Difference between the *English* and *Scots* of this Persuasion, who happening by their natural Temper to be more violent in their Passions, are in this Point only so much the worse Men, as they are better Presbyterians.

IT was not long before these ill Principles appear'd, by the Discovery of a Plot, which, tho' originally Puritan, consisted of so many several Sorts of Men, as made the World wonder how such different Interests could join in any one common Design ; for in this motley Conspiracy were
Papists,

Papists, Church-men, and Puritans, who all agreed to overthrow the Government, before they knew what to erect in the stead; for this Plot were condemn'd the Lord *Cobham*, his Brother the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, Sir *Griffith Markham*, two Priests, and the famous Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who was more lamented than all the rest: This great Man, in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, was of that Faction in her Court, who, devoted to the House of *Suffolk*, were Enemies to the *Scotch* Interest; this made him be discountenanc'd by King *James*, upon which, through Discontent, he engag'd in this rash Conspiracy; the two Priests, and the Lord *Cobham's* Brother were executed; all the rest, tho' condemn'd, were saved by the Clemency of this Prince, by which he gave his People a Specimen of that Tendernefs of Blood which has run through all the Race of the *Stuarts*; it being a Remark worthy Observation, that there was more Blood shed in almost any one Reign of the *Tudors*, than all the four *Stuarts* put together, when we have excepted those who were murder'd by the pretended Parliaments in the Time of the Civil Wars, as also a great many innocent Persons who suffer'd in the Popish Plot, against the Conscience and Inclination of the Prince then

then reigning, which must therefore not be accounted any Acts of the Crown; but notwithstanding the usual Clemency of *James*, he was prevail'd on by the Artifices of *Gondamour* to put the gallant *Raleigh* to Death fifteen years afterwards upon the old Sentence, whose Force, in the Opinion of Lawyers, was destroy'd, by his having a Commission in the mean time that gave him Power over the Lives of others, and consequently made him Master of his own: This Action was therefore inexcusable, and resulted more from Want of Courage in this Prince than his Cruelty, being not more unjust than mean-spirited, and the greatest Blemish of his Reign, except the ill Treatment afterward of the great Lord *Bacon*, who being one of the first Restorers of Philosophy and other Sciences, next after Sir *Thomas Moore*, made his Country known to the learned World abroad: This illustrious Person, having pass'd all the Degrees of his Profession to the Dignity of Lord Chancellor, and a Peer of the Realm, was attack'd with so much Fury by a Faction at Court, that no Innocence or Merit could protect him from undergoing an infamous Sentence, Fine, and Imprisonment during Pleasure, being charg'd with the Faults of his Servants, for whom he was not answerable: As to
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his own Part, he was only affected with receiving a Sett of Gold Buttons, in Value not above 50 *l.* too small a Bribe to corrupt a Man, who either had so great a Contempt for Money, or so little knew the Use of it, that he would carelessly leave Sums of Gold untold on his Table, to be plunder'd by his meanest Domesticks: But this was not all; this great Man was suffer'd to starve for Want of Bread in his own Country, to whom he had done so much Honour; the Resentment of which Cruelty made a learned Foreigner call him at the same Time the Glory and Infamy of the *English* Nation.

Not long after, broke out a Conspiracy of a more horrid and dangerous Nature, being the most unparallel'd Treason that ever was harbour'd in the Breasts of Men; this impious Design gave the greatest Blow to the Catholick Interest in *England*, by rendering that Religion so odious to the People: The common Opinion concerning the Discovery of this Plot, by a Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, has not been universally allow'd to be the real Truth of this Matter; for some have affirm'd, that this Design was first hammer'd in the Forge of *Cecil*, who intended to have produc'd this Plot in
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the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*; but prevented by her Death, he resum'd his Project in this Reign, with a Design to have so enrag'd the Nation as to have expelled all *Roman* Catholicks, and confiscated their Estates; to this End, by his secret Emissaries, he entic'd some hot-headed Men of that Persuasion, who, ignorant whence the Design first came, heartily engag'd in this execrable Powder-Treason; tho' this Account should not be true, it is certain that the Court of *England* had Notice of this Plot from *France* and *Italy*, long before the pretended Discovery; upon which *Cecil*, who knew the whole Matter several Weeks before, fram'd that Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, with a Design to make the Discovery seem the more miraculous, and at the same Time magnify the Judgment of the King, who by his deep Penetration was to have the Honour of unravelling so ambiguous and dark a Riddle; this gave Occasion to the Court Parasites of this Time, to extol on all Occasions the profound Wisdom of this King, whom his Flatterers have call'd, the *Solomon* of *England*: But notwithstanding this Prince had certainly good natural Parts, and more Erudition than is common to Persons of his Rank; however, he seems to have

have rather Cunning, than what we generally call Wisdom, the Tracks of which are not so very plain, either in his Conduct, Speeches, or Writings, to entitle him to Inspiration: This Flattery so rais'd the Vanity of King *James*, as to make him manage a Dispute in a Conference at *Hampton-Court* with the Puritan Divines, whose Arguments, tho' refutable by an ordinary Logician, would have been more efficaciously answer'd by the Penal Laws put duly in Execution, than all his Majesty's Royal Syllogisms; but he was so negligent in this Matter, that he made *Abbot*, a Man ting'd with Puritanism, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, by encouraging others of the same Principles, first undermin'd the Peace and Authority of that Church, of which he had the Honour to be the Head.

THE Reign of this Prince being a constant Series of Tranquillity at Home, and Peace with our Neighbours Abroad, will furnish us with less Matter than turbulent and tempestuous Times; the whole Business of this Court was, the Intrigues of Favourites, and the Result of Ease and Luxury, Masks, Balls, and such Diversions, Entertainments of foreign Ministers, and sometimes their Masters; *Christiern* of *Denmark* made no less than
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two Visits to his Brother-in-law King *James*, besides the Palsgrave, who came, and in Person married the Princess *Elizabeth*, which Match prov'd not a little unfortunate, by the fatal Ambition of that Prince in unjustly aspiring to the Crown of *Bohemia*, which Country he was not only forc'd to abandon, but lost his own Patrimony the Palatinate. King *James* was a Man of too much Honour to support this Injustice; however he had so great a Concern for his Daughter, and her Children, as to leave nothing untry'd that might restore them to their just and hereditary Possessions; but the Puritans, who now were grown stronger, and began to be form'd into a Party against the Government in Church and State, laid hold on this Occasion to asperse the King, and lessen him in the Esteem of the People, by interpreting his Coldness in this Affair to proceed from his Disaffection to the Protestant Interest, for which Reason he would not hearken to the Cries of his Children; but *James* was not of the same Mind with these People, who measure Honour, and Conscience, only by Interest, and think nothing unjust that is profitable: The Experience of this Prince shew'd him how dangerous, as well as dishonourable, it is, for one King to support the Rebellion of another's Subjects; that

that Practice in Queen *Elizabeth* had been already too fatal to his own Family, not to make him avoid the same Injustice to others; but to shew the World how much the Restitution of the Palatinate was on his Spirit, this only Reason, contrary to his Inclination, made him embrace the Offer of the *Spanish* Match for his Son Prince *Charles*, which was then thought the only Means to bring the House of *Austria* to Reason; and that this might more speedily and effectually be concluded, he condescended to send his only Son thither in Person; for this Action, in sending the Heir of the Crown into *Spain*, King *James* was very much censur'd, tho' without any Reason or Justice, for the Prince return'd in Safety again without a *Spanish* Wife: Soon after this, follow'd the Death of King *James*, occasion'd by an Ague, tho' the Malice of some gave out that he was poison'd; on opening the Body no Symptoms of Violence appear'd; but, on the contrary, all the Signs of a natural Death.

CHARLES

CHARLES I.

[1625.]

WE are now come to a Reign which might hav promis'd to all reasonable Men the highest Felicity imaginable; the *English* Nation at this Time saw a young Monarch ascend the Throne adorn'd with every Virtue that *Plato* would have wish'd in a King, or old *Rome* in a Dictator; such was *Charles* the first, whose Misfortunes are the more unaccountable in happening to a Prince who deserv'd the highest Veneration of his Subjects, and to have been the happiest of Mankind; for he had the most Virtues, and the fewest Faults, of any *English* King; nevertheless he has been unjustly censur'd by all Parties; but it is so difficult to please every one, that his Enemies have tax'd him with too much Obstinacy, and his Friends with too little Resolution; however, we may affirm, that, excepting some false Steps, his Consent to which, contrary to his own Opinion, was extorted by the Importunity of his false Friends, who betray'd him; the four Cardinal Virtues never more conspicuously met in any one Person, whom Story has produc'd on the

the Theatre of the World; his Justice was extended to all Mankind, and more to his Enemies than himself; his Prudence made him bend with the Storm to shun the Danger, by always yielding to the Violence of the Times, except when his Honour and Conscience bad him be sacrific'd; his Temperance the Disingenuity of his Enemies never disputed; and his Fortitude was eminently seen in his heroick Patience under his Sufferings.

How such a Prince should miscarry, the Curiosity of the World will enquire: To find the Cause of these Misfortunes, we must first consider the Circumstances in which he found himself upon his Accession to the Throne, and in the next place, the Temper and Condition of the People he came to govern; his Father at his Death had left him under an Engagement to make War on the House of *Austria*, for the Recovery of the Palatinate, to carry on which, there were not only no Subsidies yet granted, but an Exchequer exhausted, and in Debt; this made his Circumstances precarious, and necessitous; these Wants he laid before his first Parliament, not only by his Chancellor's, as his Predecessors were wont, but by his own Mouth from the Throne, in a Speech so moving and pathetick, as would have

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made Impressions on any Men who had the least Concern for the Honour, and Interest of their Prince and Country : But this Parliament had not that common Complaisance, which is usually shewn to new Kings before they have given their Subjects any Cause of Disgust; they soon, by the Returns they made to this Speech, let him know that he should have no Supply, but what he must purchase with his Prerogative ; they started imaginary Grievances, and complain'd of evil Counsellors, the common Pretences of Sedition. The Causes of this Disaffection and Brutality we are now to consider : The Puritan Party bore a great Sway in the House of Commons ; I have mentioned these People in the foregoing Reigns, in which their Credit and Numbers were inconsiderable ; but toward the latter End of King *James's* they were increas'd in both ; and, having chang'd their common Name, were divided into Independants, Anabaptists, and Presbyterians ; the last were the most considerable, but all join'd in an equal Aversion to the Government in Church and State ; the Preachers of these Persuasions, tho' in Comparison with the Orthodox Clergy, very ignorant, and illiterate, by a counterfeit Sanctity and Strictness of Life,

Life, had wonderfully insinuated themselves into the Esteem of the People; so that by degrees, not only the Vulgar, but most of the Tradesmen in great Cities, many of the richer Gentry, and some few of the Nobility, began to be poison'd with their Fanatick Principles: These Men let slip no Occasion of blackening the Church; they laid hold on every casual Immorality in the meaner Clergy, to expose the whole Order to the Contempt of the People; they preach'd up the Doctrine of the Sabbath, only to make the King and Bishops odious, who in Concurrence with the rest of the Christian World, Reform'd as well as *Romish*, had tolerated Sports on that Day after divine Service; this Doctrine they urg'd with so much Vehemence, that they made it more criminal to violate the Jewish Sanctity of this Day, tho' without any Ground from Reason, Scripture, or Authority of the Church, than to lie with their Nieces and Sisters, of which Crimes some of the leading Saints were convicted; and that they might run as far as they could from Christianity, they almost fell into *Judaism*: Their chief Aim in carrying this Doctrine to such an Extravagance, was not only directed against the King, but to asperse and vilify Archbishop *Laud*. This illustrious Prelate, whose Name

cannot be mention'd without the profoundest Veneration by every true Son of the Orthodox Church, was the chief Object of their implacable Malice, only for endeavouring to maintain the Dignity of the Hierarch, and repair, if I may use the Expression, the spiritual Dilapidations of his Puritan Predecessors, by introducing Discipline, Order, and Decency, all which had been so scandalously neglected for some Time before; but his chief Crime was, endeavouring to introduce a Liturgy in *Scotland*, conformable to that in *England*; this was never forgiven by those furious Covenanters, who with an inveterate Rage pursu'd him to the Block: Nor was the Disingenuity of his Enemies less than their Malice, for they charg'd him with being popishly affected, notwithstanding his noble Defence of the Protestant Religion against *Fisher* the Jesuit: However, in spite of Calumny and Detraction, the Wise and Good will ever reverence his Memory; and, as he was one of the greatest Men the Reformation has produc'd, always look on him as a singular Ornament of that Church, for whose Altars he died a Martyr. To these were join'd another Sort of Men, who were furious Enemies to all reveal'd Religion, but now assum'd a Cloak of Sanctity, that they might share in the
Plunder

Plunder of the Monarchy and Church; these last were the true Ancestors of some of our modern Whigs, who have just as much Conscience and Religion, as their Progenitors; but the most considerable Men in this Faction were that Part of the Nobility and Gentry, who, being Men of Letters, had por'd so long in their Studies over musty Books of Politicks, as to fall in love with a Common-wealth; every one fancied himself a *Marius* or *Sylla*, and long'd to be beating out one another's Brains with Stools and Benches, at every Election of a Magistrate: The first Hopes of a Common-wealth were put into their Heads by the late Example of the States of *Holland*, who having about thirty Years before revolted from their natural Prince the King of *Spain*, and form'd themselves into a Republick, began to grow considerable in the World for Riches, Strength, and Power; the Success of these Fishermen made our Republicans mad to follow the Measures of a People, who were destin'd to ruin our Trade by their Avarice, and our Morals by their Example: A Parliament consisting of such Men as these could not fail to use all Means of undermining a Government they were resolv'd to subvert: The first Attack they made upon the King, was through the Sides of his Favourite the

Duke of *Buckingham*: This Nobleman had been recommended to King *James*, not only by the Beauty of his Person, which made him an Ornament of the Court, but by the shining Qualities of his Mind; being magnificent in his Nature, generous, affable, and perfectly well bred; an Encourager of Merit even in his Enemies, and a Patron of Learning; but a little too fierce and haughty. These great Qualifications of course must render him an Object of Envy and Hatred to Men, whose Principles were diametrically opposite, being little, mean-spirited, peevish, splenetick Fanatics, whose Blood, sour'd with a false Spirit of Religion, made them Enemies to all Gallantry and Grandeur.

THIS Parliament, having thus shew'd so dangerous a Disaffection, were dissolv'd by the Prudence of the King, tho' they had given him no great Subsidy; this undutiful and factious Behaviour oblig'd him, under such great Pressures, to take extraordinary Measures, but warranted by the frequent Examples of his Predecessors on like Occasions; the Cries and Clamour of his People in Behalf of the Protestant Religion, and not the Pique of the Duke of *Buckingham*, had engag'd him, in Defence of the *Rockellers*, in an expensive War, in which

which they had entangled him on purpose that he might become precarious, and lie at their Mercy, who had not Generosity to relieve his Necessities at a less Expence than the dearest Jewels of his Crown, in lopping his Prerogative: This put him upon the Projects of Loans, Benevolences, and Ship-money, in which he was justify'd by numerous Precedents, and the Opinions of his Judges; but, supposing he was never so much in the Wrong as to this Matter, he soon made a sufficient Attonement, by a Renunciation of all such Pretensions for the future, and obliging himself to do so no more; Repentance is all the Satisfaction we can make to Heaven for our Failings, and certainly ought to have contented Subjects. That it had been the Custom of our *English* Kings to support their great Necessities by a voluntary Contribution from their Subjects is past dispute; of this we have such frequent Examples all along in our Chronicles, that it is unnecessary to specify any particular Instances.

THE succeeding Parliament trod in the Steps of their Predecessors, whose Violence they imitated by a fresh Attack upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, against whom they were furnished with Matter by the Malice of, my Lord of *Bristol*, who, hav-

ing been Ambassador at the same Time that the Prince and Duke were in *Spain*, upon a Misunderstanding between them, conceiv'd so mortal a Hatred against *Buckingham*, that he meditated nothing less than his Ruin: This Quarrel gave an Opportunity to the Parliament of supporting the Earl's Accusations with their own Impeachment, and brought the King into the Quarrel, who being the best Judge of the Matter, supported *Buckingham* against *Bristol*, between whom and the Duke there were mutual Recriminations.

SOME of the Articles against the Duke were false and groundless; others maliciously wrested, as nothing is more easy than to give a Reverse of any Action; and some Things, which were alledg'd as Crimes, the generality of Mankind will call Virtues; this Article was, *That, making Use of the great Power he had with the King, he had advanc'd his Kindred and Relations.* How great a Crime this was, the Duke's own Answer will satisfy: *That he believ'd he were rather worthy to be condemn'd in the Opinion of all generous Men, if, being in such Favour with his Prince, he had only minded his own Advancement, and forgot those whom the Ties of Blood had so particularly recommended to his*

his Care. So unreasonable are some Men, as, for Want of Faults, to reproach the very Virtues of their Enemies.

THIS constant ill Humour in the People, which increas'd every Day, oblig'd this great but unfortunate Prince, to frequent Dissolutions of his Parliaments, in Hopes to heal these Distempers, to the Cure of which he contributed every Thing in his Power; he granted the Petition of Right, and abridg'd his own legal Authority, merely to oblige his People, by such convincing Testimonies, of his Bounty and Goodness; but all in vain, there was no pleasing a Sort of Men, who were resolv'd to quarrel with him, whether he would or no; this forc'd him to a Resolution of having no more Parliaments for a time, in Hopes the ill Humours, which had fermented so long, would of themselves subside, when they should no longer be stirr'd by Opposition: But this Prince was destin'd to have no Rest from his Troubles; he had no sooner put an End to the Seditions in *England*, by a Dissolution of the last Parliament, but he found new Trials of his Patience, by the factious Behaviour of his *Scotch* Subjects: These Seeds of Dissension, if not sow'd at first, were improv'd and cultivated by the Artifices of Cardinal *Richlieu*, who constantly

stantly for several Years had his Agents in *Scotland*, who kept open the Breach between the King and his People. These horrid Fanaticks had oblig'd themselves by a most impious Covenant to destroy the establish'd Hierarchy, and introduce in the Stead their own wretched Discipline; but the King, who knew their mischievous Principles, was not insensible how necessary it was to put a Stop to the growing Evil, which, if not check'd, would have very fatal Consequences, not only on the Peace of the Church, but the Safety of the Crown, whose Interests seem'd so interwoven, as mutually to support each other: In order therefore to reduce his *Scotch* Subjects, he rais'd an Army in *England*; but by the Interest the Covenanters had here among their godly Brethren, and the Treachery of some Persons in his own Court, he was hinder'd from chastising those Rebels, when he had a superior Force: A timely Suppression of these *Scotch* Vipers might in human Probability have prevented the Diffusion of the Poison, and that unnatural Rebellion, which soon after broke out in *England*; but it was the Fate of this Prince, and indeed his Family, to be always betray'd, and especially by those who lay under the most indispensable Obligations of Gratitude and Fidelity;

ty; for so abandon'd were the Villains of this Court, that some of his Bed-chambermen made no Scruple to pick the King's Pockets when he was in Bed, and copy his Letters, which they sent to the Covenanters.

THE *Scots*, having invaded *England*, oblig'd the King to call a Parliament, he had try'd in the Year 40; but finding the Commons pursue the same Measures, he was forc'd to dissolve them after a Session of 22 Days: But now approach'd his Fate, for being oblig'd to call another, that unfortunate Parliament assembled in *November*, the same Year; these were the Men who for 19 Years together, except some Interruptions of their Power, domineer'd in a despotick Manner, and took away the Lives, Liberties and Estates of their Fellow-Subjects, while, on pretence of delivering them from imaginary Evils, they involv'd them in real. It is surprising to reflect how so inconsiderable a Part of the Nation, as the Republicans were at this Time, to which Number I confine those who design'd to change the Government into a Common-wealth, should promise themselves Success in so bold an Undertaking, as the Subversion of a Monarchy, almost as ancient as the Rocks of our Island; for tho' the leading Men, by their specious Pretences, drew in vast Numbers to take their

their Part, however the Majority had no further View than to secure those Liberties, which their factious Chiefs had made them believe were invaded.

THE first indirect Attack, made on the King by this Parliament, was through the Sides of my Lord *Strafford* his chief Minister, who was a Gentleman of great Parts and Abilities, and first of that Party in former Parliaments, who being moderate Men were for redressing Grievances by calm, legal and decent Methods, according to the Prescription of the Laws, without a Violation of the Duty they ow'd their Prince, or the publick Tranquillity; but upon a Discovery of the ill Designs of the Fanatick Party, he went over to the King's Side, charm'd with that Goodness, and Virtues, which needed only be known to be reverenc'd: This Desertion of the Cause was a Crime which these Men could never forgive; upon this Account they had resolv'd his Ruin, and in order to their Revenge exhibited numerous Articles against him, most of which he satisfactorily answer'd, and those which did seem to affect him, amounted to no more than Misdemeanors; but, when the Laws would not reach his Life, they resolv'd to supply that Defect by the legislative Power, and so pass'd the infamous Bill of
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of Attainder, of which they were less ashamed than afraid, for they inserted a Clause to prevent the Use of this Case as a Precedent for the future, as if what was Justice to one, was not the same to the rest of Mankind: The King long hesitated in passing this Bill, which was contrary to his Conscience; till attack'd on every side by the Solicitation of his false Friends, and the Clamours of the Rabble, he yielded at last to the Artifices of the perfidious Bishop of *Lincoln* and others, who trick'd both the King, and *Strafford*, into their mutual Ruin.

NOTHING ever went so near the Heart of *Charles*, as the Death of this Great Man, for which he afterwards testify'd so much Remorse on the Scaffold; a happy Penitent, who had no other Crime to charge on his Conscience, but what was extorted from him by the Violence of a Rape on his Inclinations; but not long after, more fatally abus'd by those in whom he too much confided, he was advis'd to pass that Act to make this Parliament undeterminable, but at their own Pleasure. To this unhappy Step is to be ascrib'd the subsequent Calamity of King and Kingdom: It is reported, that the next Morning after the fatal Consent given to that Bill, the Earl of *Dorset* came cover'd

cover'd into the King's Bed-chamber, and, when admonish'd to think where he was, answer'd, *That there was no King of England* ; which in effect was true, the Power which should defend the Throne being alienated and given into the Hands of Men, who made no other Use of this Power, but to destroy themselves, their King, and Country.

THE Parliament no sooner saw themselves Masters of their own Time, to sit as long as they pleas'd, but they pull'd off the Mask, and, by demanding the Militia, which was taking the King's Sword from his Side, convinc'd the World of their ill Designs: The Power of the Militia was an inseparable Right of the Crown, and could not be transferr'd to other Hands, without the King's manifest Destruction ; of this he was too sensible to grant so unreasonable a Demand ; but the Commons repeating their Violence, and inciting the Rabble in vast Numbers to insult him at his Palace-Gate, oblig'd the King to retire with his Children to *Hampton-Court* ; after which, finding that no Condescensions could bring them to a Sense of their Duty, he made a Progress into the North, which was more free from the Infection that had spread itself all over the South and midland Parts of the Kingdom,
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by being nearer to *London*, the very Fountain Head of Sedition: Upon this, the Parliament made actual War upon the King, by seizing his Town of *Hull*, to which Place they sent Sir *John Hotham*, who refus'd the King Entrance when he came to the Gates: Notwithstanding this Act of Violence, which was actual Treason and Rebellion, these Men had the Assurance to tell the World that the King first made War upon them. This strange Procedure destroy'd all Hopes of a Reconciliation; after such an Indignity, the King found it inconsistent with his Honour, or the Duty of the Trust reposed in him, to treat with such abandon'd Men, till they should make him Reparation for this Affront; but the Parliament persisting in their Mutiny, and thro' Conscience of their Guilt beginning to arm, the King found it necessary to accept the Offers which the Nobility, and Gentry, in the North made him, to guard and defend his Person: After which, marching to *Nottingham*, he erected his Standard, and summon'd his People according to the Obligations of their Allegiance to defend his Crown, and Dignity, against his open and profess'd Enemies. Thus began the dismal War of 41, which, by the just Judgment of God, ended at last in the

Confusion

Confusion and Disgrace of the first Contrivers. Whoever will take the Pains to consider the Motives and Steps to this War, and impartially weigh the Merits of the Cause on either Side, by reading the several Remonstrances, Speeches and Declarations, both of King and Parliament, must certainly acknowledge that the King was only on the Defensive Side; and that the Measures he took were no more than what were absolutely necessary to defend his Person and Authority against the rude and unjustifiable Attacks of a popular Faction, who had visible Designs of subverting the establish'd and ancient Government. The Nation thus divided into two Parties, Cavaliers and Roundheads, the Church intirely, and the most virtuous Part of the Nobility and Gentry, sided with the King; with the Parliament the trading Part of the Nation generally, whose Principles were more easily corrupted, than those of a more generous Education: The Officers of the Parliament Army, excepting some few Persons of Quality, who at first engag'd, but soon repented, consisted chiefly in Soldiers of Fortune, some of whom, having been bred in the *German* Wars, came over upon these Dissensions at Home, and sided with that Party who had the
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most Money to pay them, without entring much into the Merits of the Cause on either Side ; the rest were Bankrupts and broken Tradefmen, whose desperate Circumstances made a War necessary to mend their Fortunes in the Publick Ruin : That these People should engage against the Crown is no Wonder ; but what seems unaccountable is, that any of the Nobility, who all derive their Lustre and Privileges from the Prince, should not think themselves oblig'd, as well by Interest as Duty, to support the Crown, after whose Fall, they could not expect to stand themselves ; the Truth of which will appear by the Event.

VARIOUS were the Successes of this cruel War, in which several bloody Battles were fought with alternate Fortune : In the Beginning the King seem'd to have the Advantage, whose Troops, carried on by a Principal of Honour, most commonly routed the Enemy, till at last their Want of equal Courage was supply'd by Enthusiasm, which made the Visionaries fight more like Furies, than Men ; nevertheless the King had one Opportunity put into his Hands of making an End of the War, if his good Genius had inspir'd him with Resolution to lay hold on this favourable Occasion ; but instead of marching to *London* with a victorious Army,
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where the Parliament had none to defend them, by a fatal Advice, whether maliciously or ignorantly given, is uncertain, he sat down before *Glocester*, which Place being vigorously defended, kept him so long in Play, till the Parliament, who before desponded, had Time to recover their Consternation, and raise a new Army, which turn'd the Fortune of the War: It is certain, that the Faction at this Time were under so great a Terror, that the Leading Men had consulted their Safety, in having Vessels ready to have transported them to *France* and *Holland*, in case the King had march'd directly to *London*, where he had no inconsiderable Party to have join'd him; by this Conduct he would have unkennel'd the Vermin at *Westminster*, and so made himself Master of the factious City, whose inexhaustible Riches were the chief Support and Nourishment of the Rebellion.

AFTER this fatal Error, the King's Affairs daily declin'd, to which Turn of Fortune some Misunderstandings among his own Party not a little contributed: However, if the *Scotch* Covenanters had not come in to the Assistance of their Brethren, it is probable the King would have been able to have supported his Cause in *England*; but this new Army
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consisting of 20000 weigh'd down the Scale : This perfidious People, notwithstanding they had engag'd themselves upon the Conclusion of the last Peace, in which the King had granted all their Desires, never more to bear Arms against him, nevertheless broke all these solemn Protestations, and conspir'd his Ruin in Concert with the *English* Parliament ; this considerable Addition made the Parliament too strong for the King long to oppose, who, after the fatal Battle of *Naseby*, lost all Hope of Success in his Affairs ; this Defeat was the most considerable that happen'd in all the War, the King's Army being entirely routed, his Cannon, Baggage, and Ammunition taken ; and among other Spoils of the Field, his Cabinet of Letters were sent to the Parliament, who now no longer restrain'd within any Bounds of Respect toward their Prince, basely expos'd the Secrets of Man and Wife, by printing the Letters between the King and Queen, which illustrious Princess was worthy better Fortune than what she found from the Hands of those Brutes, who, contrary to the Tendernefs and Indulgence of our Laws to the Fair Sex, voted her guilty of High-Treason, only for obeying the Laws of God, Man and Honour, in assisting the King her Husband ; which ill

Treatment she bore with a Greatness of Mind and Courage above her Sex, so as to convince the World that she was worthy to be the Wife of *Charles* the Martyr, and Daughter to *Henry* the Great: This Example was enough to frighten foreign Princesses from venturing to Match into a Country, where common Decency, and the Law of Nations, were so little observed.

THE King, upon this Run of ill Fortune, his Garrisons daily surrendering, quitted *Oxford*, which was the last considerable Place that held for him; and thus destitute of Friends or Council, put himself into the Hands of the *Scotch* Army who lay before *Newark*: Immediately upon this, the Parliament of *England* sent to demand his Person; this was at first deny'd by the Covenanters, who enter'd into a most ridiculous Dispute, whose King he was most, tho' neither had shew'd themselves his Subjects before; but at last for a Sum of Money they basely deliver'd him to his mortal Enemies, notwithstanding the Promises of Protection they had given him.

THUS was this unhappy Prince now a Prisoner to his own Subjects; who, how well they made good the specious Pretences, when they first took Arms against him, have

have convinc'd the World: They then declar'd, that they fought for the Honour and Safety of the King, whom they pretended to rescue from ill Hands, and make him a glorious Prince, which in one Respect they perform'd, by giving him Martyrdom, the only Crown they had not Ambition or Malice to take away; he had not been long a Prisoner, when the Independant Party in the House and the Army, who had different Views from the rest, send a Cornet with a Body of Horse to seize the Person of the King, and take him by Violence from the Parliament Commissioners; the Army had been now new-modell'd by a Self-denying Ordinance, as they call'd it, of Parliament, which made their own Members incapable of Commands; by Virtue of this Order, the Officers that were Members, and the Nobility, had quitted their Commands, and so made Way for a more popular Party, who were now Independants, to come in their Room; this was the Faction who had seiz'd the King, in order to their impious Design of putting him to death. The Parliament were startled at this Violation of their Authority, in seizing the King, who was their Prisoner, upon which several Remonstrances pass'd between them and the Army; but how could these unthinking Men expect

any Deference or Obedience from Persons, into whose Hands they themselves had put Arms, and taught them to rebel against the only Power, to which they ow'd a Duty.

IN the mean while the Independant-Party, supported by the Army, after all the Condescensions of the King, as far as his Conscience would permit, notwithstanding both Houses had voted his Concessions a Ground of Peace, resolv'd on his Tryal, and to bring him, as they call'd it, to Justice; having first purg'd the House by a Seclusion of a great Part of their Members, who, tho' they had gone thus far Hand in Hand, were not harden'd enough to comply with this last Villany.

NEVERTHELESS the abandon'd Miscreants, supported by the Fanatick Army, had the Impudence to perpetrate the execrable Deed, by putting their anointed Sovereign to death at the Gate of his own Palace: This detestable Action render'd at this Time the *English* Nation odious to the rest of Mankind, and made the remotest Savages blush at the Infamy of their Fellow-Creatures; notwithstanding, we have liv'd to see the Time, in the Reign of his Grandson, when the Press and the Pulpit have ventur'd, if not to justify, to
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extenuate this horrid Violation of all that was Sacred.

SUCH was the End of this pious Prince, whose sad Catastrophe could not be prevented by the Remonstrances, Petitions, Sighs and Tears of his People : There had several Designs been laid for his Escape ; but his own Destiny, and the ill Genius of *England*, were too strong to be resisted. Some have asserted, that *Cromwell* himself, upon the Disgust between the Army and Parliament, who design'd to disband them, had made some Advances of Reconciliation with the King, whom he offer'd to restore, not only to his legal Authority, but to make him as absolute as the *Grand Seignior*, on condition he would maintain the Army, govern despotically, and support their Ambition ; but the good Prince, so far from being guilty of those Designs, with which his Enemies tax'd him, would not purchase his Life, Liberty and Revenge, at the Expence of his Conscience : Nothing could certainly have been more agreeable to human Nature, if not corrected by the highest Spirit of Christianity, than to have had his Enemies deliver'd into his Hands by those very Men whom they had arm'd for his Destruction : But this generous Refusal had too fatal Consequences ; so much is it

safer to be really a Knave, than only to be call'd so; for if he had been the Man his Enemies represented him, he might have sav'd himself at their Expence: The flagitious *Cromwell*, finding the King incapable of serving his Ends, from that Moment resolv'd his Ruin, and afterward took other Measures to support his Greatness.

SUCH was the Conscience of this good King, of which he shew'd the same Tenderness in that noble, tho' fatal Defence of the establish'd Church, which cost him his Life at last. Let his Enemies say what they will, nothing is more certain, than that he dy'd a Martyr to his Religion. For Proof of which, I believe, all will allow, that before the War broke out, if he would, by a Violation of his Coronation Oath, have sacrific'd the Church, dissolv'd the Hierarchy, and have heartily establish'd Presbytery, discharg'd his Bishops, and have made Dr. *Calamy*, and those of that Stamp his Chaplains, there would have been no Civil War; and that, notwithstanding all the Pretences of Male-administration, he would have been reputed a Saint by those very Men, who took up Arms against him: This granted, it was plain that he was ruin'd merely on Account of Religion, of which it is not safe for a King of *England* to have too much:
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We have had no more than two Princes on the Throne since the Reformation, who were truly sincere in their respective Persuasions, and what was their Fate? One lost his Head, and the other his Crown.

HERE we must make some Reflections on the just Punishment of the Presbyterian Party, who being the first Contrivers of the Rebellion in 41, were now not only expell'd the House, and disgrac'd, but some of the principal Leaders fin'd and imprison'd, by their own Fellows, and Confederates in their common Rebellion, being treated with the same Severities as Cavaliers and Malignants; these Men first ran the King down, and the Independants cut his Throat; the *Scots* sold him, and the *English* murder'd him; both Parties, both Nations, as they were Partakers of the Guilt, soon felt the Vengeance due to so execrable a Treason and Parricide: Nor did that Part of the Nobility escape better, who, having join'd in the War, continu'd to sit at *Westminster* after the Death of the King, and the Dissolution of the Government in Church and State: But to the Honour of that illustrious Body, the Majority of whom were loyal, these were but a very few, being only a Rump of the Lords, as the Commons were of the Lower-House, who now voted themselves useless,

less, and turn'd them out of Doors; notwithstanding which Indignity, some were so very mean-spirited as to wave their Hereditary Right in a nobler Station, and sit by Election in the House of Commons, even in their blue Ribbons, those Badges of Honour they had receiv'd from the Crown, and in no better Company than broken Attorneys and Brewers Clerks.

It must certainly at this Time have been a great Satisfaction to the Cavaliers, notwithstanding their own Misfortunes, to see their Enemies reduc'd to the same ill Circumstances with themselves, without the Comfort of a good Conscience to support them; so just and remarkable was the Punishment of these thoughtless Lords, who not content to enjoy their Privileges, Estates and Honours, under the Protection of a mild and gracious Prince, join'd with a popular Faction to ruin the Monarchy, and pull down the Church, forgetting that they were Kinsmen to that Throne, which could not be shaken without staggering themselves, nor destroy'd without dragging them into the same Gulph of Ruin. Now they saw the dismal Consequences of their Folly and Ingratitude to the best of Princes; they found themselves insulted by Dray-men and Coblers, and domineer'd over by the very Dregs of the People, for
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of such consisted the Officers of this Army, who now tyrannically govern'd the Nation; some of whom were so very obscure and mean, that they had no Names but what were given them by the Parishes that bred them: They now saw themselves very much mistaken in thinking to form an Aristocracy, which must have been the Design of those Lords, who help'd the Commons to destroy the Monarchy; but they found to their Cost, that the Dregs of a Democracy were the natural Corruption of our Government, as soon as the Constitution was dissolved; they now saw themselves on a Level with the rest of their Fellow-Subjects, stripp'd of the Privileges they enjoy'd above those of their Rank in other Countries, and in no small Danger of returning to the Place from whence some of them came, the Bar, or the Counter, and sinking into the Body of the People, to be no more distinguish'd by Title than Merit.

CHARLES

CHARLES II.

[1648.]

HERE legally begins the Reign of *Charles* the second, but we shall see a long Parenthesis of Troubles and Confusions between this Time, and his happy Possession of the Throne: This Prince was in Exile when he heard the dismal News of his Father's Murder; upon which he immediately assum'd the Title of King; nor indeed was it any more than a Title, till his Restauration in *England*, notwithstanding he was call'd to the Throne of *Scotland*, where the Covenanters had now quarrel'd with their *English* Brethren, in spite of the solemn League between them; the *Scots* pretended to blame the *English* for the Murder of the King, tho' common Charity will hardly oblige us to believe the Sincerity of their Compassion for a Prince whom they had taken such Pains to ruin, or that Men of such horrid Principles could have any Reserve of Conscience; the Truth was, they now grew apprehensive of the growing Common-wealth in *England*, whose Principles they knew too well, not to apprehend the Ambition of a People, whom

whom no Alliances, or Covenants could bind ; this Consideration, more than any Sense of Duty, made them resolve to restore their lawful Prince, and set on Foot the Treaty of *Breda*, which had like to have been interrupted by an Action of the most unparallel'd Barbarity that ever was committed by a civiliz'd Nation ; this was the Execution of the great *Montrose*, for no other Crime, but acting by the Commission of that Prince, whom they were going to restore : Nothing can make his Country amends for the Infamy of this Cruelty, but her having had the Honour to produce so Brave a Man, whose Greatness of Mind, Courage, and Fidelity, tho' they seem'd buried with him, we saw lately break fourth again, collaterally in the Name and Blood of a *Graham*. *

THE King, after some Reluctance upon this Occasion, condescended to accept a Crown, which was not worth the taking from the Ground ; for he was no sooner arriv'd, but his first Entertainment was the Spectacle of *Montrose's* Quarters, his most gallant, and faithful Servant ; soon after he found the Treatment of his own Per-

* Lord Dundee.

son all of a Piece with the rest of their Actions ; they forbid the Towns, and Burroughs, to make him any Presents, allow'd him no more Money, than they thought fit for his Pocket, kept him under Correction, and in short, treated him more like a School-boy, than their Prince : This unaccountable Carriage, with the Fury of their Zeal and Enthusiasm, would make one think that these People, so different from the rest of Mankind, were certainly possess'd with an evil Spirit ; but notwithstanding the general Frenzy, which over-ran that Nation at this Time, there was still a gallant Party left, who not poison'd with the Principles of the Kirk, retain'd the Fidelity, and Bravery of the Ancient Scots ; but they were too weak to support the Interest and Honour of their Prince, against the more powerful Faction of the Covenant : The King himself was so sensible of their ill Usage, that he once design'd to go away, preferring the Misery of begging his Bread in a foreign Country, to the titular Government of so wretched a People ; but he was at last persuaded to return from the Highlands, and do so much Violence to his Nature, as to breathe the same Air with those Fanaticks.

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THE Restauration of the King in *Scotland*, and the Preparations for War, justly alarm'd the Rump at *Westminster*, who, to prevent the Designs of their Enemies, sent *Cromwell*, now newly made General, into *Scotland*, where he had several Skirmishes to the Disadvantage of the *Scots*; till reduc'd to great Want of Provisions, he was forced to retreat Homewards, and at last was so furrounded by the more numerous Enemy, that his Condition was thought desperate: This so rais'd the insolent Hopes of the Covenanters, that they concluded the Day their own, while the godly Ministers in their frantick Visions went about from Rank to Rank, assuring the Soldiers that the Lord of Hosts was on their Side; that there was no need to use their Weapons, for the Lord had deliver'd the Enemy into their Hands; such was the Assurance of these Enthusiasts, when *Cromwell*, made desperate by Necessity, fell upon them, and so cudgell'd the Saints, that for a good while after they had a very ill Opinion of the Friendship of Heaven: This was that memorable Battle of *Dunbar*, fought on the 3d of *September*, a Day always counted auspicious to that Tyrant.

HERE we must descant a little on the Force of Enthusiasm; *Mahomet* establish'd his Religion by no other Means, and his Successors

Successors in a little more than sixty Years conquer'd a greater Extent of Ground, than the *Roman* Empire, by downright Dint of Enthusiasm: The *Anabaptists* in *Germany*, did Wonders against regular Troops, and our *English* Fanaticks in the Parliament Armies were invincible. The *Scotish* Covenanters are the only Exception. This Defeat at *Dunbar*, the wonderful Victories of my Lord *Montrose*, and their last Behaviour at *Bothwell-Bridge*, sufficiently confirm this Assertion: Tho' at that last Place, they had a General * to their Enemy, who was not very fond of doing them much Harm. So remarkable it is, that the *Scots*, who in all Ages and Countries distinguish'd themselves by their personal Bravery, whenever they fought upon common Principles, like other Men, no sooner ran Mad with Religion, but they turn'd arrant Cowards; for whenever they chose *Jesus Christ* for their General, they always ran away, and made less Use of their Swords than Bibles.

THIS Defeat was a great Blow to the King's Affairs; not for the Loss of those Covenanters, who were his Enemies, and deserv'd to be extirpated, but

* The Duke of *Monmouth*.

in respect to the Reputation and Strength which it gave to the growing Commonwealth in *England*. However, with the Ruins of this *Scotch* Army, and some other Troops which he had on Foot, he afterwards resolv'd to try his Fortune in *England*, after having first been crown'd at *Scoon* ; and now giving the *English* Army the slip, he march'd to *Carlisle*, and so through the North-west of *England* to *Worcester*, where he halted to take Breath and refresh his weary Troops, fatigued with so long a March, and the continual Skirmishes in the Way ; his Forces being considerably diminished, as well by Losses as Desertions ; for great Numbers daily stole away upon the ill Prospect of their Affairs ; so that the King had not at *Worcester* above 12000 effective Men, the Country not coming in as was expected ; not through any Want of Courage or Inclination in his Friends, who had all along given such wondrous Proofs of an invincible Fidelity, but the Militia, being every where in Arms, prevented their design'd Rendezvouzes ; nevertheless the brave Earl of *Derby* appear'd in the Royal Cause, for which he was barbarously put to Death by the Usurpers, notwithstanding the Parole of Quarter given upon his Surrender ; but it was no
T Wonder,

Wonder, if those Monsters observ'd not the Laws of Honour, who had so long violated those of God, and Nature.

THE King, thus distress'd, had nothing left but Despair to support him in the Thought that his Condition could not be worse: *Cromwell*, who had pursu'd him all the Way from *Scotland*, was now arriv'd with a numerous and disciplin'd Army, who beleaguerr'd the Scots in *Worcester*; upon this the Besieg'd made a desperate Sally, in which they shew'd a Gallantry equal to the Justice of the Cause in which they fought, but all in vain; the Fortune of *Cromwell* was irresistible. The King, finding all lost, resolv'd to part with his Hopes and Life together; but at last perswaded by the Tears of his Friends, he consulted by Flight the Safety of a Life that was dearer to others than himself: He was now in the Heart of the Kingdom, pursu'd by a victorious Enemy; all Passes, and Avenues, guarded by Men in Arms, so that to escape long was beyond any human Prospect; nevertheless, by the miraculous Conduct of Providence, he was reserv'd to bless his People with an auspicious Reign; for after several Dangers, and Adventures, he safely escap'd into *France*.

THIS

THIS Defeat at *Worcester* gave the finishing Blow to the Royal Fortune; and now all Hope that the Crown or Church could ever be restor'd was vanish'd; so that the Republicans had a sure Game in their Hands, but they wanted Genius and Address to manage it; if Honesty is so absolutely necessary to preserve a Government already establish'd, how much more Occasion is there for the sublimest Virtue to lay new Foundations? The Word Patriot was now known in *England*; but like Spirits, tho' frequently mention'd, never seen nor felt: The ill Conduct of this Rump, who, having usurp'd the Government, design'd a Perpetuation of their unjust Authority, soon open'd the Eyes of the People, who, being fleec'd and oppress'd by their new Masters, could not fail to make melancholy Reflections on the Change of their Condition, to which their own Folly and Credulity had betray'd them, by hearkening to their Quack Politicians, who, on pretence of mending the Government by destroying the Old Constitution, had physick'd the Common-wealth into incurable Convulsions: By this appear'd the Villany of their factious Leaders, and the Charm of Novelty once worn off, they long'd again for the ancient Form of Government,

vernment, which with so much Levity they had help'd to destroy.

INSTEAD of a limited Monarchy, circumscrib'd by the Bounds of the Law, which had lodg'd a Power in the Crown to relieve the Injur'd, succour the Oppress'd, mitigate the Rigour of the Laws, and distinguish Objects of Mercy; under the Notion of an equal Common-wealth, they found themselves govern'd by cruel and inexorable Men, who sacrific'd the publick Good to their private Interest, and thought Severity the only Sign of Wisdom: Instead of that mild Discipline, and decent Ceremony in the Church, so necessary to raise a proper Devotion, they found their Consciences oppress'd by the Tyranny of a Fanatick Inquisition; while they, who murmur'd to pay lawful Tithes to a learned and reverend Pastor, now saw themselves oblig'd to impoverish their Families to support a greasy and illiterate Blockhead; instead of those noble and moral Harangues, which by the Force of human Eloquence lead Men into a love of Virtue and a good Life, they heard the Pulpits resound with nothing but Vision and Blasphemy, in imposing on Heaven with Buffoonry and extemporary Nonsense; such were these Teachers, who in the ridiculous Cant of these Times,
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may in the Language of the Parliament, were call'd, a Godly — Able — Faithful — Painful — Gospel-Preaching Ministry.

SUCH a Government in Church and State must necessarily fall under universal Contempt, which made Way for *Cromwell* to put in Execution his long projected Designs ; for having an Army at his Devotion, whose Officers he had moulded to be subservient to his Ambition, he by Violence expels the Remnant of the long Parliament, and makes himself Master of his Country : This *Oliver Cromwell* was descended by a Daughter from the famous *Cromwell* in the Time of *Harry* the eighth : From this Ancestor, who was one of the first Fanaticks in *England*, *Oliver* seems to have deriv'd his Enthusiasm, which, now meeting with more Power and Malice, was more fatal ; this Person, from a very private Gentleman, by running in with the Humour of the Times, which was Whining, Canting, and Preaching, had rais'd himself by degrees to the supream Command in the Army. Whether or no he was really so great a Man, as some People fancy, who always admire successful Villany, we will here inquire : Some of his Contemporaries, in their Memoirs, have deny'd

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even that which seems his most visible great Quality, his personal Courage; but this Disingenuity we will impute to Pique and Envy, by allowing him a Quality, which is no longer a Virtue than when it is well plac'd; we find it often in Thieves and Highwaymen, as well as Heroes; and Philosophy calls it only a brutal Ferity, when not founded on a Basis of Prudence and Justice: As for the other great Endowments both of Body and Mind, which are the Ladders of Ambition, and have rais'd Men in all Ages and Countries, he seems to have wanted them all, except a profound Dissimulation and Hypocrisy; his Person was mean, his Aspect unpromising, and his Address awkward and unbecoming a Gentleman; besides, his natural Parts were not extraordinary, nor improv'd by any great Advantages of Education, for he was very ignorant of the great World, and not over-learn'd, notwithstanding he had been bred in an University, which is in itself not the best Education to form a great Man: This Want of due Qualifications seems to render him improper for Insinuation and Popularity; for it is certain that his Aspect and Behaviour were so far from engaging, that, to the contrary, there is a memorable Tradition, that when he was only a private Burgeſs

Burgeſs in the Year 41, before he was known in the World, or the War broke out, Sir *Bevil Granvill*, who was a Member of that Parliament, conceived ſo mortal a Diſguſt againſt the Perſon of this *Cromwell*, that he could not endure to ſit near him in the Houſe; and when he was ask'd by his Friends, what Reaſon he had for that Averſion, he reply'd, he could give no Account, but that his Mind foreboded, that ill-look'd Fellow would deſtroy the King; a Prefage not more remarkable than true; but we have ſeveral Inſtances of the like Nature in Story: So that after all, we muſt aſcribe this extraordinary Riſe to a ſtrange Conjunction of Circumſtances in the Time he liv'd, which as they never happen'd in the World before, ſo probably never may again; for a Man to raiſe his Fortune by Preaching and Praying, which were the only Talents that firſt recommended him to this Fanatick Army, a Profeſſion which in other Ages and Countries never much minded Religion: Upon this Conſideration, we may rationally conclude, that had he been born in *England* at any other time, he would have been no more than *Oliver Cromwell*; and if in *France*, never had a Regiment of Horſe.

NEVERTHELESS, we now see him vested with the supreme Authority, and, under the Title of Protector, arm'd with more Power than what our Laws and Constitution allow to our lawful Kings; this Usurpation was the more easily submitted to by the People, by reason of their Uneasiness under the late Government, after whose Expulsion they thought no Change could make their Condition worse. Here we cannot but observe a Circulation of Justice on all Parties who had a Share in the Rebellion against *Charles* the first; it being the Method of Providence to make wicked Men the mutual Instruments of one another's Punishment; the *Scots*, who first led the Dance by an Invasion of *England*, with their *Solemn League and Covenant*, we have seen chastis'd, and at last finally subdu'd by their ungrateful Brethren in *England*, whom they supported in the War against their common Prince; the Presbyterian Party expell'd by the Independant Rump, and now those Wretches themselves dissolv'd and turn'd out of Doors, to the Derision of the whole Nation, by their own Creature and Servant, who assum'd their Authority, and tyrannically exercis'd an absolute Power, lodg'd in a single Person, contrary to his own and the constant Declarations of his Party.

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THIS usurp'd Title he made shift to defend during his own Life, notwithstanding the frequent Conspiracies of all Parties to destroy him: However, it is certain that his Affairs were in a very ill Condition before he died; for he found his Parliaments refractory, and not to be manag'd as he expected, insomuch that one of them presum'd to question the very Authority that brought them together; upon which he was forc'd to dissolve them, without doing his Business: Besides, there began to be great Factions in the Army form'd against him, even by his own Kinsmen and Creatures, who, by the same Power that had first rais'd him, in all Probability would have pull'd him down again, being reduc'd to very great Straits for Want of Money, which Necessities put him upon Projects of getting that Abroad which he could not at Home. This Consideration induc'd him to side rather with *France* than *Spain*, the last being an Enemy that could yield him greater Booty and Plunder; besides the Hopes of which, he was a Pensioner to Cardinal *Mazarine*, who supply'd him with great Sums of Money.

THIS false Politick of *Cromwell*, in assisting *France* against *Spain*, gave the first Shock to the Balance of *Europe*, and was the Rise of the present *French* Greatness,
at

at this Time so formidable to their Neighbours; the Weight of *England* in the Scale made the *French* too heavy for the *Spaniard*, and brought on the *Pyrenæan* Treaty, in which that Match was concluded, which has brought *French* Heirs to the Crown of *Spain*, one of whom is now at this Day sitting on that Throne to the Terror of *Europe*, on which he had never mounted, if the same Causes had not concurr'd to produce the same Effects.

THE Success of our Arms in this War gave great Reputation to the *English*, who deserv'd to have been train'd in a better Quarrel than that, which had made so good Soldiers: These Triumphs in *Flanders* happen'd opportunely to recompense our Disgraces in the *West-Indies* before, where the *English*, making a rash and ill-concerted Descent upon *Hispaniola*, were shamefully defeated by a Handful of *Spaniards* and *Negroes*: This Disappointment was no small Mortification to *Cromwell*, who had promis'd himself Mountains of Gold from this Expedition, which proving abortive, made his Circumstances more necessitous; a Sense of which, and an ill Prospect of his Affairs, together with the Loss of his beloved Daughter *Cleypole*, made so great an Impression on his Spirits, as to affect his Health, and fling him into
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the Distemper of which he died; during his Sickness, he fell into frequent Deliriums and Ravings, at which Time that false Spirit of Religion, which had so long seduc'd him, being more inflam'd by the Malignity of his Fever, burst into blasphemous Raptures and pretended Revelations of that Mercy, which he had so long abus'd, and even now to the last, by a final Impenitence.

ON his Death-bed, by a Nuncupative Will, he declared his Son *Richard* his Successor, who enjoy'd the Protectorship some Time, being complimented by the whole Nation on his Accession to the Government in congratulatory Addresses from every Burrough and Body politick in *England* and *Ireland*, with the most solemn Assurances of Lives and Fortunes; nevertheless, the same People in a few Weeks saw him sink without drawing one Sword in his Quarrel. This was the first Instance of these Addresses, by which Princes may see how little they may rely on this Sort of Compliment. The Common-wealth Faction, and that Party in the Army who had combin'd against the Father, found it much easier to compass their Designs on the Weakness and Incapacity of the Son, who wanted his Father's Vigilance to foresee, and Resolution to obviate Dangers; for
Want

Want of which last Quality, he was pull'd down by the mutinous Army, and divested of his Authority.

THUS, after a Reign of nine Months, ended *Richard's* mock Government; on which, the Army, divided in their Councils, according to their several Views, not knowing well what to do, were forc'd to recall the Rump to the Exercise of their Authority.

THESE frequent Changes in Government not only made the *English* Nation ridiculous Abroad, but puzzled foreign Ministers, residing here, how to behave themselves, what Parties to court, to whom address, or indeed how to direct their Memorials; for the Names and Titles varied with every Form of Government; sometimes a Parliament, then Protector, then Parliament again, Juncto's, Committees of Safety, &c. all which Confusions are the necessary Consequences of Folly and Faction; when Men leave the beaten Paths prescrib'd by the Laws and ancient Constitution, to follow the Systems of their own wild Imaginations, by Attempts above their Genius: Such was the present Case, Men not qualified by Birth or Education, but rais'd from the Stall, or the Dray, were advanc'd to the supreme Dignities, and made Companions to Princes; how

how awkward this Greatness sat on them, the following Story will demonstrate: There was at this Time a *Genoese* Resident in *England*, who designing to wait on *Scot*, one of the greatest Men in the Council of State, with much ado obtain'd a Direction in Writing where he lodg'd; which was at the Sign of the *Cat* and *Fiddle* near *St. Clement's* Church; a proper Lodging for such a Minister of such a Republick as the Rump: This Direction was more ridiculous in *Italian*, the Language in which it was written, by reason of the pompous Titles which that ceremonious People give to all Persons of Distinction.

BUT it was not long before the Army began to quarrel with the Parliament, whom they had just restor'd; this Insolence was so resented by the Representatives of the People, as they call'd themselves, that they ventur'd to break several Leading Officers, and vacate their Commissions; the Chief of these was *Lambert*, the most considerable and active Man in the Army since the Death of *Cromwell*, whose Steps the same Ambition prompted him to follow: *Lambert*, finding this Resolution in the Parliament, thought fit to put an End to their Authority, in order to which he sent Soldiers to possess the Avenues leading to *Westminster*, and prevent

vent their Sitting; this Violence determin'd the Power of the Rump for this Time: Thus the Men, who made such an Outcry, when their lawful Prince only enter'd their House to demand five Members whom he accus'd of Treason, must now be contented to be pull'd by the Ears, and insulted by ruffianly Soldiers at the Beck of a Serjeant.

THE Army, having thus expell'd the Members, arrogated to themselves the Government, for the Management of which they erected a Council call'd, *A Committee of Safety*, consisting of 23 Persons: These frequent Distractions gave an Opportunity to the renown'd General *Monk*, to put in Execution that glorious Design of rescuing his Country, whose Convulsions no Remedy could cure, but a Restitution of the King to his Crown, and the People to their Liberties.

IN order to this, having first modelled his Army by cashiering the disaffected Officers, he march'd out of *Scotland* on pretence of defending the Parliament against the Army, and making the Military Power subservient to the Civil; the Plausibility of this Declaration met with universal Concurrence: Upon which, *Fleetwood*, who commanded the Army, and was a Man of shorter Views and less Ambition than
Lambert,

Lambert, seeing a general Defection towards *Monk*, was forc'd to restore the Parliament. In the mean while *Monk*, by slow Marches, approach'd the Town, having first with great Address persuaded the Parliament to remove the disaffected Troops into distant Quarters, and so make Way for his own at *London*; where he was no sooner arriv'd, after publick Thanks from the Parliament for the great Services he had done them, but he was commanded on a Piece of Service that had like to have ruin'd all his Designs; this was, to chastise the Insolence of the City, who had been refractory to their Masters the Parliament, and refus'd to pay Taxes: This Order he obey'd with great Violence to his Inclinations; but there was no third Party to take, he must either submit, or quit his Commission: The Parliament, in this Command to General *Monk*, had a double View; one was, to humble and reduce the City; and the other, to make *Monk* odious, and lose his Interest among the Citizens: For *Haselrig*, and the leading Republicans, began to grow jealous of him upon his Refusal to take the Oath of Abjuration, by which he must have renounc'd the Interest of *Charles Stuart*, as they then call'd the King; though a Refusal of this impious Oath

Oath might have unravelled all his Designs, and so have prevented his intended Rescue of his Country : However, conducted by that noble Principle of not doing Evil that Good might come of it, he would rather have lost his Commission, and all his Hopes, than enter into so horrid a Sacrament : But his great Address furnish'd him with Shifts to evade this Oath for the present ; upon this Account he was the more willing to obey the Parliament in pulling down the City-Chains and Posts, that by this Compliance he might give them a good Opinion of his Devotion to their Service, tho' at the same Time underhand he took Care to inform the Citizens, how unwilling he was to obey these violent Commands : This private Remonstrance preserved *Monk* in the good Opinion of the City, and the more enrag'd them against the Parliament ; the Interest that the General found he had in the City, gave him the greater Encouragement to execute his Designs of restoring the secluded Members to their Seats in the House, notwithstanding all the Opposition of the Fanatick Party : This Point once carried, there only wanted a voluntary Dissolution of this long Parliament,

ment, to make Way for another more free Representation of the People, who, being left to themselves, no longer scrupled what they should do, but restor'd the King and Royal Family to their Right, from which they had so long by an arm'd Violence been detain'd.

THUS, after so many vain Efforts of the noblest, richest, greatest Part of the Nation, was accomplish'd this miraculous Revolution, by the prudent Management of one Brave Man, who, by a wonderful Address in the Conduct of this Affair, shew'd himself as Great in his Cabinet, as at the Head of his Army.

As an Affair of this Nature required the greatest Secrecy; so very few Persons were intrusted, among whom Sir *John Granvill* was the principal Negotiator; whose Family, as they had the Honour to defend the Royal Cause with their Blood in the Field, so they had the Happiness to be the immediate Instrument in this Glorious Revolution.

THE more we think of this wonderful Turn, we shall meet still fresh Matter of Surprize and Astonishment; for when we consider that the whole Nation, weary of the Tyranny, under which they had so long groan'd, wish'd for nothing more than the Restauration of the
U King,

King, it seems a Wonder that such a Change should not sooner happen ; but, on the other hand, when we reflect on the Difficulties to be overcome, so many entangled Interests to be unravelled, so many Parties united, an Army averse to Kingly Government, and most of them dipp'd in the Guilt of the late King's Blood, for which they could expect no Mercy, to be made subservient to Designs, to which their Principles were so contrary, we may more wonder that so hazardous an Enterprize should ever succeed ; nor could it at last, without the immediate Interposition of that Power, by which the World is govern'd, the signal Footsteps of whose Providence were never more adorably conspicuous, than in the happy Conduct of this Great Revolution.

THE new Convention was no sooner met, but both Houses immediately pass'd a Vote to declare the Government of *England*, according to the Constitution, in King, Lords, and Commons ; by this they recogniz'd his Title, and soon after sent respective Members from each House to invite *Charles* the second to the Exercise of his just Authority : Never was so sudden a Change in the Passions of Men, as now in the Royal Party,

ty, who were lifted from the Bottom of Despair to the highest Transports of Joy, by a Turn, that converted Darknes into Light, Confusion into Order, Want, Rapin and Violence, into Peace, Plenty and Liberty.

THE King was at this Time in the Territories of the States, having liv'd for the most part in the Dominions of *Spain*, ever since he was oblig'd to quit *France*, upon the Treaty between that Crown and *Cromwell*; all which Time, notwithstanding the Necessity of their Affairs made the *French* incapable of an open Protection, however, underhand, they supply'd the King with Money; so that most of the Bread that he and the Royal Family eat, even in the *Spanish* Dominions, where he met with more Compliments than real Assistance, was bought with *French* Money: This is a Secret not commonly known, or believ'd, but being Truth, it is Justice to acknowledge it.

THE King had no sooner receiv'd the Addresses, and Invitations of his People, but he prepar'd to return into his native Country, and take Possession of that Crown, to which he had so undisputed a Right: He made his Entry into *London* on the 29th of *May*, a ^{1660.} Day

Day doubly auspicious for his Birth and Return: Never was Cavalcade more Illustrious, than this Triumphal Entry into the Capital City; whether we consider the Greatness, and Sincerity of the Joy, the Solemnity of the Spectacle, the August Majesty of the Persons, who were three Brothers, the finest Princes of *Europe*, all in the Flower of their Age, riding thro' the Acclamations of the People agitated with the different Passions of Joy, and Shame, Joy to see them return'd at last, and Shame to have injur'd them so long.

SUCH was the auspicious Restauration of *Charles* the second, a Prince of extraordinary Virtues, and some few Faults, most of which proceeded rather from his Fortune and Circumstances, than his Nature; but his good Qualities very much out-ballanc'd the other; for besides a sublime and elevated Genius, that seem'd turn'd for Business, if not diverted by his Pleasures, he had very great natural Parts, a penetrating Judgment, and no small Knowledge of Men; with these Advantages he made a Shift to rub thro' the Difficulties of no short Reign, in which, by an almost necessary Insincerity, he just kept himself above Water; whereas a little of his Father's or Brother's rigid
Honesty

Honesty would inevitably have sunk, and have given him their Fate,

THE Duke of *York* seem'd made in another Mould, and to be the Antipodes of his Brother in Temper and Disposition; *Charles* was loose, voluptuous, and too much a Libertine; *James* was grave, severe, devout; and tho' he now and then fell into the same Disorders with his Brother, as to Women, those Weaknesses seem'd but transient Passions in him, which were constant Habits in the other: *Charles* was forgetful of his Friends, and kind to his Enemies; by which false Politick he endeavour'd to reclaim a Sort of People, whom no Obligations could make grateful, and neglected those, whom no Injuries could hardly fill with Resentment: The Duke, on the other hand, was not only just, and constant to his faithful Friends, but terrible to his Enemies, whom he always pursu'd, when they had Power to hurt him, and always forgave when they lay at his Feet; the one seem'd to prefer his Ease, and Interest to his Reputation, and the other to sacrifice all Things to his Conscience: The King made Indolence, and Pleasure, the sole Objects of his Desires, and made no Scruple by little Means to obtain his Ends; but

the Duke chose rather to deserve, than possess good Fortune.

NOTWITHSTANDING these Failings in *Charles* the second, in Contradiction to the common Fate of our *English* Kings, we must reckon him both among our good and happy Princes; his Memory is still ador'd by the People, in spite of all the Pains that have been taken of late Years to give them wrong Impressions; but it will be a Task above the Eloquence of a certain Party to persuade Men out of their Senses, who will always be competent Judges of this Truth, while they are able to distinguish between Pain and Pleasure, Want and Plenty.

A Sweetness of Temper, Affability, and good Nature, were less remarkable in this Prince, by being essential to the Name of *Stuart*; the first Instance of these good Qualities was, his Care in expediting an Act of Oblivion, that he might settle a Quiet in the Minds of his Subjects, equal to the Serenity of the Government they had the Happiness to live under: In this Affair he was forc'd to interpose between the Justice of his Parliament and the Guilt of his Enemies, a greater Number of whom were design'd to be excepted in this Act of Indemnity, than what the Mercy of this Prince

Prince would permit; so that there was but ten Examples made out of so many as were guilty of his Father's Blood. In this Number we find *Hugh Peters*, who being half Buffoon, and half Madman, seem'd a much greater Object of Mercy than *Milton*, who was sav'd for some Reasons I could never hear. This wicked Person had undoubtedly an equal Hand in the King's Blood with the Judges themselves, who pass'd the Sentence; if writing in Justification of a Crime may be reckoned a Guilt; the last Offence has this Aggravation in it, of not only endeavouring to wipe away the Blackness and Odium of the Crime, but to exhort an Imitation of the Example: However, he found so much Respect to his Parts and Learning, as to be only incapacitated from bearing any Office during Life: Afterward he lost his Sight, it seeming equitable that he himself should want Eyes, who, by the dazzling Light of a false Rhetorick in his impious Writings, had blinded so many of his deluded Countrymen, and led them into the Ditches of Error, Schism, and Rebellion. 1660.

THESE necessary Acts of Justice being pass'd, and the Government settled on such lasting Foundations as promised nothing but Peace and Happiness, the young Monarch,

narch, voluptuous in his Nature, and too much resign'd to his Pleasures, seem'd resolv'd to make amends for the Chagrine of so long an Exile, by enjoying the Rest of Life: This made him neglect taking such Measures as would not only have secured his own Quiet and Safety, but that of his Successors. As all Turns of State are generally violent and precipitate, this Prince, at his first Accession to the Throne, found a Disposition in his People to have made him as great and absolute, as a reasonable Ambition could have desired: For through Conscience of their late Injustice they thought they could not do too much to recompense a Family, whom they had so undeservedly injur'd; besides, the wrong and popular Notions of Liberty, which had been so fatal to them, were now exploded; they had too dearly bought the Experience of their Errors, and the Consequences were too fresh in their Memories of pursuing chimerical Notions of ill-grounded Dangers, a wrong Sense of which had involved them in all their Troubles: This made the People of *England*, now newly return'd to their Senses, the more willing to trust that Power in the Prince, which they had found they could not manage themselves, but to their own Destruction.

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BUT *Charles*, through an Indolence in his Temper, or else wholly guided by the Counsels of the Chancellor, rejected all Advances that were offer'd to make him easy, safe and great: How that Minister came afterwards to fall into the Odium of a Party, to whom he was so serviceable, is a Mystery; for he was the fatal Person who advis'd his Master to court his Enemies and neglect his Friends, by which false Politick the Interest of the Royal Family has been destroy'd: Besides this, several other Counsels were given by the same Person, that seem more popular than arbitrary; for he prevented such a Revenue being settled on the Crown, as would have made the Kings of *England* not so dependant. Notwithstanding all these Services, this great Man was attack'd by a Faction in the House of Commons, and forced into Exile, in which he died, leaving his Master by his fatal Mistakes entangled in such Difficulties, as succeeding Ministers without Violence could not unravel.

AMONG these the chief was, the famous *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Earl of *Shaftsbury*, who, from an old Presbyterian, either through Ambition or Inconstancy, was intirely come over to the Royal Party: This Minister was a Man of extraordinary Parts,

Parts, great Knowledge of the World and Application to Business, but of no Principle, Honour, or Conscience; in Confirmation of which, he had chalk'd out a Way for the King his Master to have trampled on the Necks of his People, and to have been as absolute as the *Great Mogul*; but *Charles*, through a Diffidence in his Nature, and Aversion to Enterprizes of Hazard, but chiefly out of a Principle of Generosity that would not permit him to make so ill a Return to a People, who had so frankly restored him, rejected the pernicious Advice: This not a little disgusted *Shaftsbury*, whose Resentments being more inflam'd afterwards by the King's not concurring in some other of his arbitrary Projects, made him at last break all Measures with the Court, go over to the other Party, and set himself up the Champion of the popular Faction; and as he was a Man violent in his Passions, and implacable in his Malice, he conceiv'd so mortal an Aversion to the King, that, like a baffled Ravisher, he resolv'd to ruin that Virtue, which he could not debauch.

THE first ten Years after the *Restoration*, the King maintain'd his Authority; in the Year 1665, he made a successful War on the *Dutch*, in which the Duke of *York*, commanding as Lord High Admiral, by his Conduct and Courage confirm'd the Reputation

Reputation he so justly had acquired, by such a Presence of Mind in the greatest Dangers, such a wonderful Firmness, Intrepidity and Contempt of Life, as would have been Rashness in a common Tarpaulin, and more proper for a Cadet, who had no other Prospect to make his Fortune: But such is the Disingenuity of a certain Party, who never allow any Virtues in their Enemies, that this conspicuous Quality has been of late disputed.

TILL about this Time the Duke had prudently conceal'd his Religion; but afterwards by degrees he began to grow suspected of being inclin'd to a Faith, which would be disadvantageous to the Interest of a Prince who was one Day to mount the Throne of *England*, to which he was undoubted Heir upon his Brother's Want of Children: But it was not long before his Sincerity, not the least conspicuous among his other Virtues, made it plain that he was of a different Religion from that of his Country. The Openness of his Conduct gave the Malice of his Enemies an Opportunity to undermine a Prince, whose Virtue they apprehended might be one Day fatal to a Faction, who were resolv'd not only to ruin the Duke, but extirpate the Royal Family, and through his Brother's Sides destroy the King himself, who

who indeed, at the bottom, was of the same Principles as to Religion: However, considering his profound Diffimulation in this Point, his Enemies had no just Grounds to suggest to them an Opinion of his being a Catholick, which remain'd a Secret till the only Time that Men seldom dissemble.

It is certain that this Hypocrisy preserved the King from the Fury of that Storm, which not long after attack'd the Crown; and on the other hand, the contrary Ingenuity ruin'd the Duke of *York* when he came to possess one; who made himself amends for the Loss of all other Interests, by preserving the most preferable Good, that happy Peace of Mind which results from a good Conscience.

ABOUT the Year 70, that Republican Spirit, which seem'd extinct at the *Restoration*, began to kindle again from its Embers, and flame anew; the War, which soon after was declar'd against the *Dutch*, gave the *Hydra* Faction an Opportunity to erect their Heads, and hiss again.

THE Insolence of the *Dutch*, their repeated Injuries to the *English* Nation, the Cries of our Merchants, and the absolute Necessity of supporting our Commerce against the Avarice of so powerful a Rival, who daily ravish'd away our Trade, made a War against that People highly justifiable

ble: Besides all which, if there were no other Ground of a Quarrel, the personal Affronts offer'd to the King in their daily Lampoons and scurrilous Paintings, of which no Redress could be obtained, tho' often demanded, were a just Provocation for any Sovereign Prince to draw his Sword, and chastise such Insolence. If private Men think themselves obliged to vindicate their injur'd Honour; how much more Sacred are the Characters and Persons of Princes? But it was not the Case of *Charles* alone, the *French* King had his Share of the Affront, which made it seem the common Cause of Majesty to vindicate the Honour of crown'd Heads from the Attacks of an insolent People, who, elated with their Riches and Power, seem'd to insult the rest of Mankind.

THE Success of this War was answerable to the Justness of the Cause; the *French*, with an uninterrupted Torrent of Victory over-ran almost the seven Provinces, and in one stupendous Campaign made themselves Masters of so many Towns, as to humble and reduce that proud Common-wealth within those Bounds, which, it is the Interest of her trading Neighbours, she should never exceed.

ON this Occasion, my Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was then in the Ministry, made the famous Speech, *Delenda est Carthago*, the wisest and honestest Advice that Person ever gave: That the Interest of *England* and *Holland*, as to Trade, are incompatible, is so plain and obvious, that nothing more shews the false Politicks of Queen *Elizabeth* in this Point, than her permitting those revolted Provinces to form themselves into a Republick; that it was her Interest to support them against *Spain* is certain; but she should have stopped there, and not have suffer'd them to make themselves a free State. If the *Dutch* had still continued subject to the *Spaniard*, whose Genius and Politicks are not turn'd to Industry and Improvements, the People of these Provinces had to this Day been Fishermen, while the *English*, for this last Century, would have had the sole Commerce of the Universe, with all the Consequences of so vast and uninterrupted a Trade, immense Riches, greater Numbers of People, and every Man's Estate proportionably increased; while the *Dutch* themselves, compell'd to fly hither for Shelter, would have been at this Day Subjects in that Country, of which they lately were too much Masters.

To this may be objected, that we should at this Time have wanted *Holland* as a Barrier against the present Power of *France*: But this Objection is easily refuted; for if the Shipping and Force of *England* and *Holland*, as now confederated, are a Match at this Day for *France*, How much stronger would the same Power be when center'd in one Point? If we had the Money, People, Manufactures, Strength and Shipping of *Holland*, in this Island, join'd to our own, most of which we should have had if they had never been a Republick, with the Advantage of Situation, *England* would have been an inexhaustible Magazine of Men, Money and Arms, and at this Day one great Garrison and invincible: Besides, if we had all along had no Rival of the *Dutch*, it would have been more our Interest, as well as more feasible, to have prevented the immoderate Growth of *France* these last fifty Years.

THE wonderful Success of *France* alarm'd the Republican Party; they could not without the last Regret see their dear Brethren reduced to such Distress: Upon this, they rais'd such a Clamour, as oblig'd the King to recall his Troops in the *French* Service. The popular Apprehensions which these Men rais'd, and the
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ill Blood that they made towards the King, laid the Foundation of those Distempers and Animosities, under which the Nation laboured for several Years; all which were more inflamed, and brought on the popish Plot, the ill Consequences of which we so sensibly feel at this very Day: That happy Unanimity, which had cemented the Affections of the People from the *Restoration* to this Time, began to be interrupted, and the Nation broken into those fatal Divisions, which have never since been clos'd.

As Cavalier and Roundhead, in the late Civil Wars, distinguish'd the two contending Parties; so now Whig and Tory, both Names of Contempt and Obloquy, mutually given one another by the opposite Sides. Under the Banners of these two Factions were rang'd the Nobility, Gentry, and the whole Body of the People; the Whigs follow'd the Steps and Maxims of their Predecessors in 41; the other Party, acting upon true Principles of Honour, Conscience and Justice, thought themselves oblig'd to defend the Monarchy, the Church, and fundamental Constitutions; while the others, by the Measures they took, made it manifest to the unprejudiced Part of Mankind, that they aim'd at nothing less than the Sub-
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version of the establish'd Government; in order to this, they thought the best Expedient was to exclude the Duke of *York* from his Birth-right, contrary to the Custom and Laws of *England* at that Time and all Hereditary Countries: To compass this Design, the Faction drove with Fury to accomplish their own, and the Ruin of their Country; to which End they left no Stone unturn'd; all their Address, Cunning, and Industry, were now highly necessary to prepare the Spirits of the People for so dangerous an Attack on their Constitution: But the Authority, and Reputation of the Duke, acquir'd by his long Services to his Country, were too strongly founded to be easily shaken; they thought it expedient therefore to tumultuate them with Fears and Jealousies, before they were capable of concurring with such a Design; in order to this, the Popish Plot, which broke out at this Time, was laid hold on, the secret Springs and Management of which Affair will very much puzzle Posterity, and appear the most dark and intricate Juncture of Time in the *English* History. My Lord *Shaftsbury*, who now had abandon'd the Interest of his Master; and, tho' loaded with Benefits, was become his mortal Enemy, was the chief Support of the Faction, who design'd the Ruin of the Duke; by him

was encourag'd, and abetted, the chief Evidence who discover'd this Plot, the infamous *Titus Oates*, the most flagitious of Mankind, abandon'd in his Morals, desperate in his Fortune, and every way qualify'd to be subservient to the greatest of Villanies, in which he might have succeeded, even to the hanging half the Nation, if his Sense or Cunning had been equal to his Impudence and Malice, in which he perseveres to this Day, and has the Confidence to look in the Face of Men and Heaven, whose Justice he braves by so long and unshaken an Impenitence.

It is incredible what a Ferment the Discovery of this Plot rais'd in the Minds of the People, and seem'd to turn their Brains; nothing but Massacres, Invasions, Legions of Pilgrims armed with black Bills, fill'd the Thoughts, and frighted the Imaginations of the deluded Rabble, who fancy'd every Breath of Wind the March of Troops, and mistook, in their panick Fears, Herds of Cattle for *French* Dragoons.

It is certain, that the first Discovery was encourag'd by *Charles* himself, and the Earl of *Damby* then Lord Treasurer, with a Design to get Money of the Parliament; and afterwards carried on by my Lord *Shaftsbury*, who snatch'd the Game out of their Hands, declaring, that since they had
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started a Hare, he would run her down: This Diffimulation and little Artifice some Men may call Policy or King-craft, but Religion and Morality will give it another Name, and fix this Weakness and Pusillanimity among the Blemishes of this Reign, especially when we consider the dismal Consequences on the Lives, Honours, and Estates of so many Men, whose Innocence appear'd afterwards by the Conviction, on Record, of the Evidence against them, as well as the dying Assertions of Protestants as well as Catholicks, with the most solemn and dreadful Asseverations, at the Time, and Place, where Charity forbids us to believe Men dare dissemble; otherwise certainly nothing can be so unaccountable, as that, out of such a Number as were put to Death, not one Person should be induc'd, by the greatest of Temptations, to save his Life at the Expence of telling Truth; for a Pardon was offer'd to every individual Man, on condition he would own himself guilty.

To this will be objected, that the Principles of that Religion, in which most of these Men died, allow a Diffimulation even to the last Gasps; but Experience will demonstrate the Falsity of this Opinion: The Catholicks, who were executed for the Powder Treason, a Villany so aggravated

in all its Circumstances, as to make any Man very much ashamed to own it, all ingenuously avow'd their Crime; and not only the Laity, but *Garnet* the Jesuit, an Order not much celebrated for Sincerity, acknowledg'd his Guilt at the Place of Execution, and exhorted those of his own Communion to take Warning by his Example: Besides this, we have a fresher Instance very lately in those *Roman Catholics* who were executed for the Assassination Plot, who, by the frank Confession which they made, must convince the World, that they thought themselves oblig'd to tell Truth when they came to die: This Ingenuity has given as great a Blow to the Credit of *Oates*, as that Cloud of irreproachable Witnesses, who so clearly proved his Perjuries.

AMONG the other Victims, my Lord *Stafford* was sacrific'd at this Time: This Nobleman, tho' by his Character and Manner of Life, he was the least qualify'd for the Post ascrib'd to him, or likely to be engag'd in such a Design, was nevertheless pick'd out of the other Lords, to give the greater Credit to the Plot, by the Opinion which the Faction had of his Inability to defend himself: But such is the Power of Truth, and Rhetorick of Innocence, that never was a more noble Defence

Defence made by any Person, whose Parts and Education had not more qualify'd him for such an unequal Combat, against the Law, Chicanery, and Learning of his violent, and numerous Prosecutors, who baited the poor Old Man so many Days together: Nevertheless, such was his Fate, tho' he had the Misfortune to be condemn'd, he had the Satisfaction and Happiness to die innocent; for a Proof of which, soon afterward, when the Eyes of the Nation began to be open'd, his Case appear'd so hard, that the very Tribunal who condemn'd him, that Part of the Legislature who had been his Judges, thought themselves oblig'd in Honour and Conscience to do Justice to his Family, by reversing his Attainder: As for those who had the Misfortune to be his Judges and condemn him, considering the Absurdity, Contradiction, and moral Impossibilities of the Evidence against him, they are very much oblig'd to the Charity of those, who have a better Opinion of their Honesty than Good Sense.

BUT tho' Men of the best Sense, and Knowledge of the World, were justly startled at some Absurdities of this Story; however the Faction had the main End of their Design in deceiving the Majority, who now, full of these ill Impressions

sions, were in a fit Temper to violate the Laws of their Country, the ancient Constitution, and the Principles of common Justice, by concurring to the Ruin of a Prince, whom his Enemies had branded with the Guilt of Treason and Parricide : To this end, the long Parliament, which had sat eighteen Years, was dissolv'd by the Intrigues of the Faction, who knew them not staunch enough to join in the Subversion of a Constitution, of whose happy Restauration they had been Witnesses.

THE succeeding Parliament consisted of Men, whose Principles made them more proper for such a Turn ; upon which the Bill of Exclusion was brought into the House of Commons, notwithstanding the King endeavour'd with all his Interest and Authority to discountenance that unprecedented Proceeding, which, he was satisfy'd, thro' the Sides of his Brother aim'd at himself : Never any Times had so much the Air of 41 as this Juncture, when we consider the Rage, Obstinacy and Power of the Faction, the Precariousness of the King's Circumstances, and the imminent Dangers that threaten'd both his Authority and Person, upon a Refusal to gratify their unreasonable Demands ; so that there

there only wanted an Incapacity in the Crown to dissolve the Parliament, to have involv'd us again in the same Calamities.

THE King, finding so ill a Temper in his Parliaments at this Time, left no Expedient untry'd to moderate their Fury; he first sent his Brother into *Flanders*, and afterwards into *Scotland*, in Hopes that his Absence would cool the Rage and Malice of his Enemies: With both these Kinds of Banishment, notwithstanding his Removal might prove so detrimental to his Interest in such a Juncture, the Duke readily comply'd, that he might convince the World how well he understood to discharge every Office of Life, by shewing himself now the most obedient of Subjects, as he prov'd afterwards the best of Masters. But the King found himself mistaken; the Absence of his Brother, instead of qualifying the Rancour against him, encourag'd his Enemies to pursue him with greater Violence; so that now he saw his Error, in applying Lenitives and Fomentations, where only Incisions and Corrosives could prevail; he had to do with a Faction, whom Compliance and Gentleness made insolent and the contrary Treatment submissive; nothing but

that Firmness, and Resolution, which Experience and Necessity oblig'd him afterwards to use, could obviate the Danger, and quell the Sedition, which now grew more outrageous; the Bill of Exclusion had pass'd the Lower House, and was sent up to the Lords, where it miscarried by the Piety, Honesty and Courage of the Bishops, whose Principles, at that Time thought the Characteristicks of the Church of *England*, we have since seen turn'd into Ridicule by the impious Buffoonry of a Set of Men, who are declar'd Enemies to all Reveal'd Religion, and consequently to the Noblest Doctrine of Christianity. Violence, Menaces and Tumults were not the only Engines the Faction employ'd to batter the King's Constancy; they attack'd him on the weaker Side, and laid hold on his most dangerous Passion, to destroy his Honour and Conscience; the Dutches of *Portsmouth* was brib'd into the Interest of the Cabal, whose repeated Assaults gave the King an Opportunity to shew the World a Courage and Resolution, which partly aton'd for his other Weaknesses.

Charles, finding all Methods ineffectual to reduce his People thus tumultuated, resolv'd to dissolve the Parliament, and call no more at *Westminster*, where
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the Neighbourhood of so populous, opulent and seditious a City, supported the Insolence of the Faction. *Oxford* therefore was thought the most proper Place after *London* to receive such Numbers, by reason of the Schools, and other public Buildings, that could easily contain both Houses of Parliament; besides, the Scholars, at this Time firm in their Principles, were almost unanimous on the Royal Side, and might help to defend the King, if attack'd by the Faction, as he had just Reason to apprehend.

THE Change of Air could not cure a radicated Distemper; the Poison had spread too wide, and taken too strong hold to be easily expell'd; the *Westminster* Sedition equally rag'd at *Oxford*; the Bill of Exclusion was resum'd, and the same violent Methods pursu'd: This Conduct in the Parliament convinc'd the King, that there was a Necessity of taking other Courses; and now there only wanted Resolution to produce the most happy Event: This noble Quality after some Struggle having once acquir'd, the Parliament having sat but a few Days, he unexpectedly appear'd in the House of Lords, and sending for the Commons, with an unusual Air of Briskness and Authority

thority in his Countenance, with one Blast of his Breath, scatter'd and annihilated the Faction.

NEVER was such Confusion, such a Consternation, as appear'd in the Faces of these guilty Men, who, through Conscience of their own ill Designs, were now apprehensive of the same Dangers they had prepared for others: This happy Dissolution restor'd the King to his just Authority, and the Nation to that Quiet, which had so long before been interrupted by these fatal Seditions.

THE Party, thus thunder-struck and astonish'd, shifted every one for himself in the last Confusion; so that by this fortunate Surprise was prevented their flagitious Design of seizing the King's Person at this Meeting; in which Attempt, tho' probably they might have succeeded, by the vast arm'd Retinue which all the considerable Men of the Party brought with them, so as to make this Assembly have more the Air of a *Polish* tumultuary Diet, than a peaceable *English* Parliament; however, they justly apprehended, that this barefaced Violence offer'd to the King's Person might open the Eyes of the Nation, who, returning to a Sense of their Duty, would think themselves obliged to rescue their Prince. To obviate this Danger,

ger, they had a Reserve left, which was the Assistance of an Army and General from *Holland* to have supported their Designs, on the pretence of securing the Protestant Religion; but all being quash'd by the unexpected Dissolution of this Parliament, that design'd Revolution was deferred for some few Years: By this we may see, how easy it is for a King of *England* to be Master, when he acts with Resolution on a right Bottom, the Vindication of his just Prerogative and legal Authority. Wonderful were the Effects of this Conduct in *Charles*, who by giving the ill Humours Time to subside, and calling no more Parliaments during this great Ferment, made the rest of his Life appear the only Part of his Reign.

THIS fatal Blow given to the Faction, broke all their Measures, and made the Nation return to their Senses, who seeing the villainous Designs of their factious Leaders, from every Part of the three Kingdoms, by the most solemn Addresses testify'd their Abhorrence of such Men and Principles, as had almost led them to the Brink of Destruction.

THE following Scenes of this King's Life were uninterrupted by any Troubles or Misfortunes, for he had no sooner convinced his People that he knew how to govern,

vern, but they soon shew'd him they knew how to obey ; so that nothing of Moment happen'd afterwards, but the Whig or Fanatick Plot, in the Year 83, one of the most impious and execrable Treasons that ever harbour'd in the Breasts of *English* Men; being no less than a Design to assassinate the Royal Brothers at one Time, in their Return from *New-market* : Of this Affair it will be unnecessary to give any further Account, since the World has been obliged with a particular History of this Conspiracy from the Pen of a celebrated Author, the present Bishop of *Rocheſter*, who, to the Dignity of his Profession, and the Qualifications of a great Divine, has added the Embellishment of politer Letters ; but what is more to his Honour, has all along continued firm to the Noble Principles of that Church, who has not in all Ages had the best Friends to her Discipline and Morals, with Mitres on their Heads.

I shall therefore only make one Remark on this Subject : Tho' the Truth of this Conspiracy was confirm'd by the dying Words of every Criminal executed for it ; nevertheless that abandon'd Party were so harden'd to all Sense of Shame, as to call it a *Sham-Plot* at this Time : My Lord *Ruffel* himself pleaded Misprision, by which
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he acknowledged the Truth of the Design, tho' he prevaricated, and pretended not to consent to the projected Insurrection and Rebellion which was carrying on by the Council of Six, of which Number tho' he was not one, yet they assembled at his House, and he was present at all those Councils; while another Class of Miscreants, who mov'd in an inferior Orb, manag'd the intended Assassination at the *Rye-House*, which, it is to be hop'd in Charity, was unknown to the others, since they were not charg'd with that Part of the Conspiracy at their Trials: But notwithstanding they had the Assurance to deny it at the Time, in less than six Years we heard the same Men, with another Sort of Impudence, glory in the Share they had in this horrid Treason; Sincerity not being dangerous lately, when it was thought no great Crime to have kill'd King *Charles* and the Duke of *York*, and when the Attainder of Persons, who own'd their Guilt with their last Breath, have been reversed; when Regicides attainted by Parliament have been sent for over, in order to be employ'd; and when that monstrous Cabal of Miscreants, the *Calves-Head-Club*, have the Impudence to celebrate their execrable Festival in the Heart of the capital City, and under the Nose
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of the Magistrate, on the very Day set apart by the Piety of the Legislature, to deprecate the divine Vengeance impending on the Guilt of Royal and Innocent Blood.

THE rest of *Charles's* Days, after this great Escape, were a continual Triumph; nothing but Congratulations of his Safety, and Expressions of the People's Tenderness for his Person; when thus Master of his Wishes, and the happy Governor of an obedient People, he was snatch'd away in the 55th Year of his Age, from the Embraces of his Subjects, by a violent Fit of an Apoplexy, in the Agony of which he lay from *Monday* till *Friday*, and then expired; leaving, by his prudent Conduct in the last four Years of his Reign, a peaceable Possession of his Throne to his Brother the Duke of *York*. It has been an Opinion too generally received, that this Prince was poison'd; but there appearing no such Symptoms of Violence as to convince the World, we ought in Charity to suspend the Belief of such a Wickedness till we have better Testimony; besides, it is very improbable, if the *Deliquium* into which he fell, upon his first being seiz'd, had been the Effect of Poison, that ever he would have come to himself on bleeding, which would have had
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a contrary Operation, and by drawing the Malignity further into the Vessels, have immediately extinguish'd Life.

SUCH was the Reign of *Charles* the second, than whom, no Prince was ever more deeply rooted in the Affections of his People, of which the universal Conster-nation of his first Sickness is an undeniable Proof; for during the Time that his Recovery was doubtful, the Churches were constantly filled with Votaries, who assaulted Heaven with a holy Kind of Violence, in Hopes their Petitions might extend a Life so dear to his People; nay, the very Fanaticks themselves came in for a Share, and now desired a Prolongation of that Breath, which their Madness and Ingratitude would have intercepted before: But when the News of his Death was confirmed, it is impossible to express the universal Concern that appeared in the Faces of all Ranks, Conditions and Religions, Enemies as well as Friends, who all lay undistinguished in the common Grief.

JAMES

JAMES II.

[1684-5.]

A GAINST such a Loss, nothing could support, but the good Opinion and Hopes of his illustrious Successor the Duke of *York*, who ascended the Throne with all imaginable Advantages, Reputation abroad, and the Esteem of his People at home, contracted by a long Contemplation of so many Virtues, of which this is a plain Demonstration, that he was not more hated, than esteem'd, even by his Enemies themselves.

HERE we approach too much our own Times to venture too near the Heels of Truth ; however, we must be very unjust if we deny *James* the second any one Quality to make a Prince great and his Subjects happy ; for he possess'd several Talents that are uncommon to Men reputed of greater Parts ; he was a Commissioner in his Navy-Office, as well as an Admiral on board his Fleet, a Teller in his Exchequer, a Carpenter in his Docks and Yards, and a Commissary, as well as General at the Head of his Armies ; so that we may venture to affirm, that he understood the Mechanick Part of Government better

better than any King of *England*; to which must be added, a natural Frugality in his Temper, the most necessary Quality to make a Prince considerable, by being less dependant, and at the same time his Subjects easy, by being less liable to Taxes through the Necessity of their Prince.

THE Ancients have taken the Pains to gather the Sayings of wise and great Men: *Plutarch* has made a very large Collection; but among all his Apophthegms, there is not one so much deserves to be written in golden Capitals, as what this Prince said on a certain Occasion: Just upon his Accession to the Throne, he received his Share of a Dividend in the *African* Company, in which he was an Adventurer as a private Man; after he had look'd over the Account, and given a Receipt to the Gentleman who brought him the Money, which was no more than 500 *l.* as he was putting it into his strong Box, he told him, *That this Money, thus honestly gotten, did him more Good than if a Parliament had given him a Million.* If his Successors had been of the same Opinion, we should not at this Day be involved in an inextricable Debt of so many Millions.

BUT that which will recommend his Memory was, that unextinguishable Affection which he bore to his native Country,

try, whose Honour and Welfare were always his dearest Concern; that Passion seem'd essential to his very Being, and so deeply impress'd, that no ill Usage could deface. Of this Goodness there are a great many Instances to be given; but I shall trouble the Reader with no more than one: When he was at *Dublin*, the *French* Ambassador, the Count *Devaux*, came transported to tell him the News, that his Master's Fleet, under Monsieur *Chateaufrenaud*, had defeated the *English* in *Bantry Bay*; instead of being pleased, he let fall the Air of his Countenance, and coldly answer'd, *It is then the first Time*: So much was the Honour of his Country dearer to him, than his own immediate Interest. There are a great many more Examples of the same Kind; all which, considering the Dependance and Precariousness of his Circumstances in Exile, made his Conduct in this one Point appear more generous than prudent.

How a Prince adorn'd with so many Virtues came to be unfortunate, we must now consider: There can be but one Cause assign'd, which is obvious to all, his Misfortune in being of a different Religion from his Country, the only Obstruction to his own, as well as the Felicity of his People; otherwise he had gone to the Grave
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loaded with Benedictions, and recommended to the Veneration of future Ages. However, the Difference of Religion would not have been so fatal, if he had not had to do with some People, who made it appear, that they had none at all ; if a Violation of all Obligations divine and moral, by an unparallel'd Ingratitude, is a Sign of being abandon'd to the last Impiety ; some carrying their Contempt of Heaven so far, as to dissemble with their God, and change their Religion, that they might have the better Opportunity to impose on, and betray their King.

By the Counsel and Advice of these Men, to whose Conduct he had entirely resign'd himself, was this well-meaning Prince put upon all those unhappy Measures which ended in his Ruin ; so that we may venture to assert, that the Miscarriages of King *James* were not the Causes of the Revolution, but the Design of a Revolution the Cause of his Miscarriages ; so long have we mistaken one for another : The Truth of this is evident by the Consequences ; for whereas the Laws of *England* assert, that the King can do no Wrong, and make his Ministers only accountable, in this Case the King alone was punished, and the evil Counsellors rewarded.

NEVER any Reign, with so smiling a Beginning, had so sad a Catastrophe: His Father's very Accession was encounter'd with those ill Omens by the Disaffection and Stubbornness of his first Parliament, as presaged his ensuing Misfortunes; but here, on the contrary, was a mutual Strife whether the King should be more Gracious, or his People more Complaisant.

BUT it was not long before this happy Prospect was interrupted by the Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*, who in the preceding Reign, seduced by the Artifices of a Faction, was alienated in his Affections from King *Charles*, and had violated that Duty, which he owed to the best of Fathers. That Party of Men made Use of the Weakness they found in this Nobleman, to flatter his Hopes of succeeding to the Crown, as they also engaged in their Interest another Prince on the same Prospect, tho' the real Advantage of either was the least of their Thoughts at this Time, who had no other Design now but a Common-wealth; however, they laid hold on the Vanity and Folly of one, and the Ambition of the other, to make them both subservient to their Designs.

THE King was hardly settled on his Throne, when the Duke of *Monmouth*, hurried on by his evil Genius, too readily hearken'd to the pernicious Advice of the Fugitives about his Person: These Men, under equal ill Circumstances with the Duke himself, thought they might mend, and could not spoil their Fortunes by the most desperate Attempt; on which Consideration, they push'd him on this Enterprize, for which he was not well prepared; for with a few Arms, and an inconsiderable Sum of Money lent by a Friend at the *Hague*, he landed at *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*, attended by about eighty Persons; after which marching into the Country, he found great Numbers of the common People resort to his Banners; these made a great, but tumultuary Force, undisciplined, and worse armed, while the King prepared to suppress them; for being advertised of the designed Invasion, by the same Person who had rigged out his Enemy, he had sent the Duke of *Albemarle* into the *West*, to be ready with the Militia against the Time of the expected Descent: This Precaution hinder'd great Numbers from resorting to *Monmouth*; nevertheless, in a few Days, he found himself at the Head of an Army considerable enough to support his Hopes: Upon this, he pull'd off

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the Mask, and assum'd the Title of King, tho' he could have no Sort of Pretence, the King his Father having so publickly and solemnly disavow'd any Manner of Marriage with his Mother.

THIS Pageantry of the Duke, in assuming the Title of King, universally surpriz'd; especially in *Holland*, where he had promised other Things at his Departure; the Prince of *Orange*, whose Wife was presumptive Heir, had too near an Interest not to be alarm'd at this new Meteor of Majesty, that interpos'd between him and his Hopes of a Crown: On this he hurried over the King's Forces in the Service of *Holland*, which were deny'd before, and by repeated Messages assur'd his Father-in-law how much he was devoted to his Service, offering at the same time to come over, and in Person command his Troops against the Duke of *Monmouth*; but the King, through his Experience of the World, thinking the Remedy more dangerous than the Disease, civilly excus'd himself from receiving this Compliment; the following Success confirm'd the King's Conduct in this Point; the Duke was defeated without so dangerous an Auxiliary, and, being upon his first landing attainted by Parliament, was soon after executed, having first made some Advances to discover

ver Designs, the Knowledge of which might have prevented Dangers that proved afterwards so fatal : But the King's ill Star, and the Guilt of some about him, prevented this *Ecclaircissement*. At the same time the brave, but unfortunate Earl of *Argyle*, as he call'd himself when taken, in Concert with the Duke of *Monmouth*, was in Arms in *Scotland*, but with no better Success ; this Nobleman, by reason of some very severe Treatment, not to say worse, in the preceding Reign, was by much the most excusable, and most to be pity'd of any who drew a Sword in this Quarrel ; nevertheless he perish'd in the Attempt.

THE Suppression of these two Insurrections seem'd to rivet the King on his Throne ; but such is the Power of Destiny, that here we must end the Halcyon Days of this Reign, which lasted but a few Months. Afterwards began to rise those Clouds which shadow'd the Lustre of so auspicious a Beginning, and at last involv'd this Prince in that long Night of Troubles and Calamities, out of which he was never able to extricate himself ; his Ministers, who aim'd at nothing less than the Service and Interest of their Master, laid hold on that unlucky Zeal, which they found in this Prince, to put him upon all

those fatal Measures which finish'd his Ruin : This Principle, without which nobody can be a good Man, in ourselves we call Piety, and when we find it in those of another Persuasion, we give it another Name ; by an Abuse of this Warmth in the King, these Men, with a Design to make him odious, introduced a Jesuit into the Council, an Order even obnoxious in Catholick Countries. This pernicious Advice, the King's own Reason and the Interest of the Queen, for three Weeks together, opposed ; but at last overborn by the Importunity of those, who design'd to pave the Way for a Revolution, he submitted to his Fate in this Point, as well as in the other irregular Proceedings, contrary to his Inclinations.

THE generality of Mankind always judge of Causes, by the outward Appearance of Things. This made the ignorant Part of the World generally lay the Blame of all Miscarriages at the Door of the Priests and the Queen, whom they accused of pushing the King upon all his unhappy Measures. But this was a very great Mistake, the Priests were only Tools and subservient Instruments to one Man, who solely and absolutely sway'd all ; and was the only Spring which moved the whole Machine of Government.

As for the Queen, the following Account will do Justice to that injur'd Princess. Assoon as it was known, that there was a Design to bring Father *Petre* into the Council, the Queen, being very much alarm'd, sent to all the *Roman Catholick* Lords then in Town to come to her: These were *Petre*, *Powis*, *Arundel* of *Wardour*, *Bellasis* and *Peterborow*. When they came, she told them, that some People were going to ruin the King by bringing a Jesuit into the Privy-Council; upon which, she conjured them to go in a Body to the King, and, by laying the dismal Consequences before him, endeavour to divert him from that fatal Design, telling them at the same time, that she would be at hand to second them. My Lord *Peterborow* was Groom of the Stole and in very great Confidence with the King, for which Reason the Lords deputed him to know his Pleasure when they should wait upon him. The King immediately appointed them to come to the Back-Stairs at Four that Afternoon: The Lords said all that was proper on that Occasion, and very warmly expostulated with him, when the Queen, according to her Promise, the Door being only put to, enters the Room, and falling upon one Knee, laid hold on the Lappets of the King's Coat

Coat to support her ; then bursting into a Torrent of Tears, for some time could not speak ; as soon as she recover'd herself, she most pathetically conjured him, for the Love of God, to hearken to those honest Gentlemen, who, being all of his own Religion, could have no other Interest but his, and who having so great Stakes to lose, must give him better Advice than those who would bring a Jesuit into his Councils ; *Believe, Sir, says she, whoever gives you this Advice designs to cut your Throat ; it is setting your People at open Defiance, and will make them have no longer Patience ; I tremble at the Consequences.* The King seem'd a little confounded, he lifted up the Queen, and told her, *Sweet-heart, I thank you, and you my Lords, I take it kindly, and will consider of what you have said to me.*

THIS stopp'd the Design for some time, and made them hope, that they had quash'd it: But one Person, who had more Influence than all together, rallied all the Power he had over the Spirit of the King and carried his Point in spite of the Queen and all his true Friends. The same Person, by the Sanction of his Post, the more to inflame the People, told it to the World in the *London Gazette* in these pompous Words. *Whitehall. This Day the Honourable*

able and Reverend Father Edward Petre of the Society of Jesus, was sworn of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, and accordingly took his Place at the Board. No Charity can make me believe he could do this with any other View but to ruin his Master by exasperating the Nation. This would have been more unaccountable, if we had not seen the same Person in the succeeding Reign vested with a White-Staff and behind the Curtain for some time govern as much as before, till he was removed by the Murmurs of the People. This foregoing Account was so well known at the Time by those who were conversant at Court, that notwithstanding it is so long ago, there must be some still alive who remember it.

IN regard to that other unhappy Incident, the sending of the Bishops to the *Tower*, which did more harm than all the rest, the World cannot think the King so unjustifiable, when they know the Truth of that Matter ; it is certain they went to Prison, whether he would or no ; for being offer'd and press'd to give Bond for their Appearance, or to be Bail for one another, they absolutely refus'd both ; after denying this Satisfaction, and such contemptuous Treatment of their Prince, What could he do less than confine Men who
would

would not accept Liberty? They thought fit afterward to give Bail when in the *Tower*; and why it should be more against the Privilege of Peers to give Security to the Council-board, than to the ordinary Courts of Justice, is hard to conceive. This made the discerning Part of the World very justly suspect, that these well-meaning Men were trick'd and put upon going to Prison, by the Artifices of some ill Persons, merely to ruin the King in the Affections of his People, and to give a Handle for Reflections on a certain great Event, which was then hourly expected, and accordingly soon after happen'd.

NOR was this the only little Indignity put upon the King at this Time: He seem'd to be insulted at their Trial, by being obliged not only to prove their Hand-writing, but even the Delivery of the very Paper, which they had given with their own Hands, and had acknowledg'd to be theirs before the Council. This gave great Matter of Triumph, and was no small Jest to the numerous Spectators in the Court and *Westminster-Hall*, who laugh'd at the King upon this Occasion: How far this Conduct was consistent with common Ingenuity and Candour, I shall not determine. But, if what they had done was justifiable before God and Man,
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this little Subterfuge so much below the Dignity of their Character, and inconsistent with the Sincerity and Sanctity of Apostles, was in it self an Act immoral: So that in their Case, nothing but the Danger and Conscience of being in the wrong, could make them in the right to deny it.

WHAT more aggravated their ill Conduct in this Affair of the Petition, was printing it; without which, it is highly probable, there would have been no Prosecution. All agreed, that it must have been in the Press, if not before, by the time it was deliver'd to the King, which was about Five in the Afternoon, and it came out that very Night at Twelve, and was so bawl'd and roar'd through the Streets by the Hawkers, that People rose out of their Beds to buy it. As the Copy could not be well obtain'd without their Knowledge, they were guilty of the Publication; and if it was factious, as some very great Lawyers declar'd, they cannot be absolv'd from the Crime of dispersing Seditious.

I mention not this out of any Disrespect, or Ill-will, to those good Men; some of them are dead, and I honour and revere their Memories, being satisfy'd they made sufficient Atonement for this Infirmary, in sacrificing their All, as well as for that
other

other false Step in refusing to do Justice to the King and themselves, in declaring their Innocence of a Crime, no less than High-Treason, of which all the World knows they were not guilty; for when the King shew'd them the Prince of *Orange's* Manifesto, in which he declar'd, that he was invited by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, they refus'd to assert their own Innocence, or disavow the Invasion. I know it will be objected, that they could not be certain how far the Prince of *Orange* might be injur'd, and his Pretences just: But natural Allegiance and the Laws of *England*, as well as all other Countries, oblige the Subject to support and defend his Prince, tho' he is never so much in the Wrong, in any Dispute with a foreign Power, of which private Men are not Judges: And it could not proceed from any Tenderness of Conscience in this Point, because the same Persons, except two who had comply'd with the Times, soon after the Revolution, upon an Alarm of an Invasion by the late King *James*, being accus'd by an anonymous Scribler of having invited him, of their own Accord, unask'd by the Government, or any body else, met at *Lambeth*, and sign'd an Abhorrence of any Invasion; the Pretensions in this Case were equally known to them and all the World: If they thought
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them just, Why did they abhor them? If otherwise, Why did they refuse the Oaths to the Government? But these Infirmities were more excusable in Men, most of them bred in their Studies and unacquainted with the greater World, which render'd them more liable to be carried away by the popular Torrent, and expos'd to the Craft and Cunning of designing Men, who made them their Tools and impos'd upon them: I would willingly have drawn a Veil over this Part of the Story and buried it in Oblivion, if I had not been obliged, as an Historian, to do Justice to the King and Truth.

THE Dissenters at the same Time ran into all the Measures of the Court, promis'd the King every Thing he ask'd; while at the same Time, underhand, they exasperated the Resentments of the Church: No Wonder a Prince thus beset should miscarry, whose Creatures and Confidants betray'd him, whose Friends deserted him, while his open Enemies oppress'd him: The Toleration of Religion, which he gave to his dissenting Subjects out of a Principle of Justice in his Temper, in looking upon himself the common Father of his People, as it was the most illegal Action, in assuming a dispensing Power not warranted by our Constitution, so it had the most fatal Consequences by detaching the Church

Church of *England* from his Interest, whose avow'd Principles only taught and inclin'd them to support him : As for those of his own Communion, they wanted Numbers and Credit to do much Service ; but his domestick Enemies could never have compassed his Ruin, without a general Concurrence from Abroad ; a great Part of the Catholick World was confederated, to destroy the first Prince of their own Religion which had sat upon the Throne of *England* for near an hundred and fifty Years ; the King of *Spain*, notwithstanding his Title of Most Catholick, the good Emperor, who every Month lies at the Feet of a Jesuit, and his Holiness himself, all concurred to the Ruin of a Prince, whose fatal Honesty made his Interest and theirs incompatible.

It is certain, the first Design of ruining King *James*, tho' form'd in the Stone-Gallery * at *Whitehall*, was afterwards chiefly manag'd at the Courts of *Madrid* and *Vienna*, and at last brought to Perfection in the Consistory at *Rome*, being the first and only Popish Plot that ever succeeded in *England* : By this we may conjecture, that a certain Reverend Person made not a Tour into *Italy* upon no other Ac-

* Lord S——d's Lodging.

count but to banter the World with Romantick Relations of his Travels ; as also it is plain, that we are in less Danger than we apprehend from the Zeal of that Church, who, for ought we see, is as cool as her Neighbours, in her Spiritual Concerns, when her Temporal Interest comes in the Way.

THE universal Discontents in *England* gave too favourable an Opportunity to the King's Enemies not to be improv'd ; a certain neighbouring Commonwealth, who always look'd upon the Prosperity of *England* with an Eye of Envy, was not without Reason alarm'd, to see a Prince upon that Throne, of whose Courage, and other great Qualities, they had made so dear an Experiment ; they could not without melancholy Reflections observe that Genius in this King, to improve the Trade, Riches, and Interests of his Country ; they saw, with Admiration, that great Oeconomy in the Management of his Revenues, by which he was enabled to pay and cloath an Army of above 14000 Men, upon a better Establishment than most in *Europe*, without burthening his People with a Tax of a Shilling ; but what most of all rais'd their Jealousy, was that indefatigable Application, which they perceiv'd in this Prince, to

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encrease his Naval Power beyond the greatest Efforts of his Predecessors.

ALL these just Reflections could not fail to dispose a People, not over-nice in Punctilios, to undermine that Virtue, which they had not the Courage openly to attack; from these Motives of Interest has resulted that innate and insuperable Aversion which they have always borne to the *English* Nation, whom they look upon as their only dangerous Rivals in the Trade of the World, and for this Reason have slip'd no Opportunity of ruining a People, whom they hate for being injur'd, and despise for being unre-veng'd.

AFFAIRS being in this ill Condition at Home, and such the Disposition of our Neighbours toward us Abroad, there happen'd an Incident which compleated the King's Ruin; this was the Birth of a Son in the Year 88; so that Posterity, which is generally a Support to other Royal Families, destroy'd King *James*; for if this had not happen'd, tho' our Fears, and Apprehensions, had been as just as they were great, we might have call'd out long enough for help, before any body would have come; Mankind always were, and always will, be govern'd by their own immediate Interest.

THE Compliments upon this Occasion, from all the Courts in *Europe*, especially the *Hague*, were scarce over, and the King return'd to himself from the Transports of Joy, which the Thoughts of such a Blessing had given him, when these Dreams of future Happiness were interrupted by the sudden Alarm of an Invasion from Abroad: The King, judging others by himself, would not give Credit at first to the repeated Advices of his Danger; conscious of having injur'd Nobody, he believ'd Nobody would injure him; at the same Time he had particular Lists given him of the Nobility, and others, who were engag'd in the Design against him, all whose Persons he had it in his Power to have secur'd, which might have prevented the Consequences that follow'd; but he was persuaded by those, who betray'd him, not to do so unpopular an Act, which would inflame the Nation more, and increase the ill Blood: Such Advice, upon such an Occasion, I believe was never given, and if given, never taken before. Such was the Fatality attended this Prince, who in his Misfortunes seems very much to resemble the King his Father: They both stretch'd their Prerogatives when there was no Occasion, and wanted the Resolution to exert their legal

Authority in their own Defence, when ALL was at Stake.

BUT it was not long before the Design grew too visible ; the great Armament in *Holland*, at a Time of universal Peace, and such vast Preparations for some considerable Expedition, which could not in Probability be design'd for any other Place but *England*, were stronger Presumptions of a design'd Invasion, than the Credit of those who took so much Pains to deny it: To carry on this Deceit, the *Dutch*, by the most solemn Asseverations, assur'd the King's Ministers at the *Hague*, that they design'd nothing more than to preserve an inviolable Friendship with their Master, and made the same Protestations by the Mouth of their own Minister at *London*: How honest this Conduct was, their own Country-man, *Grotius*, can inform them; but it is no Wonder, if they follow'd not the Maxims of his Book, in a Country, where the Author had too much Merit to live with Safety

THE King, to avoid the impending Storm, now took all the Measures that the Prudence of his wisest Friends could suggest ; the Fellows of *Magdalen College* were restor'd, the Ecclesiastical Commission broke, the Bishops receiv'd into Grace, and all Proceedings that could be call'd
arbitrary

arbitrary or illegal disown'd for the future : But all these Precautions were in vain ; the People persisted in their Disaffection, which was kept up by the Artifices of his Enemies ; by this Instance we see contradicted a receiv'd Axiom in Philosophy, for here the Effect remain'd tho' the Cause was remov'd ; such is the Difference between political, and natural Causes.

AT this Juncture, the Imperial, and *Spanish* Ministers, in the Court of *England*, renew'd their Sollicitations by repeated Memorials to persuade the King to enter blindfold into a War with *France*, in Support of the House of *Austria* ; letting him know, by a Side-wind, that the Pursuit of such Measures could only defend him against the Danger that threaten'd : The Emperor, so long ago, had in his imagination swallow'd the *Spanish* Monarchy, upon the Improbability that ever that *Austrian* Branch should have any Children : Upon this View alone he would now engage all *Europe* in a Confederacy to procure him the Succession of a Crown, to which he had so dubious and controverted a Title ; but we have since seen the Justice of Heaven in disappointing the Designs of unreasonable Men, who will pursue their Ends by any Means, tho' never so unwarrantable : This Prince, who made no Scruple to dethrone another, with

whom he was engag'd in the strictest Alliance, upon so remote a Prospect as the Death of a Man young enough to be his Son, has now justly miss'd his Aim, and by those very Means, thro' which he hop'd to succeed; the Treaty of Partition has defeated his Hopes, by giving to the House of *Bourbon* the *Spanish* Monarchy, which would in Probability not have happen'd, if he had let that Prince, whom he took so much Pains to depose, have sat still upon his Throne.

THE King, in Answer to these Memorials, told those Ministers, That the *French* King having given him no just Cause of Complaint, he could not in Honour nor Conscience violate the Peace between them; that, as to the Succession of the *Spanish* Monarchy, he had no Right to decide that Title; that the *Spaniards* knew best their own Interest, and had Laws to direct them in this Affair; that if the *French* King should infringe the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, he should think himself oblig'd to support his Allies, according to the Stipulations of that Treaty; but as for entering into deeper Engagements than the Alliances already contracted, he thought he could not answer it to the Duty of the Trust reposed in him, to involve his People

ple in an expensive War upon a Quarrel in which they had no Interest.

THESE Remonstrances, tho' supported by reason and Justice, made no other Impression but to hasten the Resolution of his Ruin : So dangerous it is for Men of Probity to act upon the Square with those who have none. At the same Time, the King of *France* offer'd the Aid of his Fleet, and Troops ; but this Prince, who was destin'd to be ruin'd by an Excess of Generosity, refus'd all foreign Assistance, relying on the Courage, and Fidelity, of his own Army, which Qualities he had not the good Fortune to find in his Generals, and some superior Officers, tho' the rest were generally faithful.

THIS Conduct satisfactorily confutes the Surmise of a *French* League, which made such a Noise, and so much prejudiced the King, who was so far from being engag'd in any Alliance with that Crown, detrimental to his own Subjects or the rest of *Europe*, that he would not permit the King of *France* to march his Armies to the Frontiers of *Holland*, as he offer'd, in order to divert the *Dutch* from this Expedition ; so much was this Prince more tender of his Enemies than his own Safety.

IN the Beginning of *October*, the *Dutch* Fleet set sail for *England*, but meeting with

a Tempest which obliged them to put back, they were forc'd to debark their Troops, having lost some Horses, which Misfortune they themselves industriously magnified to blind and deceive the Enemy, as if they were in no Condition to renew the Attempt; but soon after refitting, they sail'd again with a fair Easterly Wind, and arriv'd in *Torbay*, where they safely landed, without the least Impeachment from the *English* Fleet.

SOME few Hours after the *Dutch* Fleet had sailed from *Helver*, a Fisher-boat arriv'd at *Scheveling*, and brought Word to the *Hague*, that the Fleet was out at Sea with a fair Wind; upon which the Princess of *Orange* gave immediate Order to leave out the Prayer for the Prince of *Wales* in her Chapel at Evening Service: This very much surpriz'd some People; as she could have no Advice, or Intelligence in so short a Space of Time, to make her change her Opinion. If she thought him her Brother, when she pray'd for him in the Morning, it was the Height of Injustice to disown him in the Afternoon. If, on the contrary, she believed him not to be her Brother, it was the greatest Dissimulation and Affront to God Almighty to recommend him as such in the Morning: So that take it either Way, it is impossible to

to excuse that Princess from the Guilt of the last Injustice, or the last Hypocrisy.

THE King, upon the first Notice of the Descent, march'd his Army to *Salisbury*, where the Hopes of Success, which he might have justly drawn from the Number and Goodness of his Troops, were destroy'd by the Infidelity of his Generals and some other Officers, who were the most loaded with his Benefits ; such a Scene of Ingratitude, never known before, will astonish Posterity. Avarice, Discontent and Ambition in all Ages and Countries have frequently burst into open Rebellion, and especially in *England* against the best of our Princes ; but for Soldiers, who pique themselves more than other Men on a Punctilio of Honour, to conspire the Death of their King and General, and then desert with his Commission in their Pockets, at the same time that they dipt in the same Dish, is such a Complication of Treasons, somewhat so astonishingly perfidious, that no History can furnish another Example, and to express it, no Language a Name.

EVERY Day bringing repeated Advices of fresh Desertions, the King, not knowing whom to trust, after being deceived by those under the greatest Obligations of Fidelity, retreated to *London*, after having
escaped

escaped being delivered into the Enemies Hands, by an accidental Bleeding at his Nose, which prevented his going to the Place, where the Miscreants had laid their Design of seizing his Person, and in Failure of that, dispatching him: On his Arrival in Town, he met the cruel News, that his Daughter *Denmark* was gone away to his Enemies; this was a Stroak, for which he was not prepar'd; at first he seem'd Thunder-struck, till by degrees the Conscience of that paternal Indulgence, which he had particularly shewn all his Life to that Princess, so aggravated his Grief, as to draw Tears from his Eyes, and give Vent to his Passion: Thus abandon'd by his Creatures, Favourites, Soldiers and Children, he thought fit to consult his Safety, by withdrawing his Person for a Time; in order to which, having first sent his Family before, he embark'd himself in the River for *France*; but, being stopp'd and intercepted in his Passage, was brought on Shoar near *Feverham*, where he was most inhumanly treated by the *Kentish* Rabble, among whom, two famous Knights * of that Country had the

* *D—l* and *O—en*.

Honour to be supreme Commanders in this Insult on distress'd Majesty.

NOTHING can be a greater Instance of the Instability of human Greatness, than the present Circumstances of this Prince, compell'd to lie hid in a little Fisher-boat, who had commanded such magnificent Navies, and fly for Safety through an Element, no less than twice adorn'd with his Triumphs, and the Theatre of his Glory; and now at last reproach'd, buffeted and defiled with Spittle by the Scum of Mankind, who had received the Homage of † Princes, and been anointed on a Throne.

ON this Adventure, the King return'd to *London* from *Feverſham*, the News of which gave no small Mortification to his Enemies, who desired nothing more than his Absence to compass their Designs; but when they saw him return through the Acclamations of his People, who testified an universal Joy upon this Occasion, they began to form melancholy Prospects of their Success; this oblig'd them to alter their Measures, and assume an Air of Authority unpractis'd before; a Message was brought the King, when in Bed,

† Dukes and Marquisses of *England*, who are styl'd Princes.

by three Lords at an unseasonable Time of Night, to require him to leave his Palace and to retire to such Place as should be appointed for him: The Nature of this Message was not more surprizing, than the Choice of the Persons employ'd to bring it, who being all his own Subjects, and two of them very obnoxious by being in Arms against him, consequently were not the most proper for such an Errand, as might more decently have been perform'd by *Dutchmen*, whose Language, Address and Manners, were only suitable to such a Compliment.

THIS Accident naturally puts one in mind of the greatest Action in the Life of *Alexander*, who, bred in the Ethics of *Aristotle*, could not fail to be instructed in all Principles of Generosity and Humanity, by so great a Master; after that Battle, in which he took the Mother, Wife and Children of *Darius* Prisoners, he thought himself oblig'd to comfort the Princesses in such Distress, by a Message that might give them Assurance of his Protection; at first he pitch'd upon a *Persian* Deserter to carry this Compliment; but on second Thoughts, reflecting that the Sight of a Renegade, who had betray'd *Sardis* in *Lydia*, and declared against his Master *Darius*, might probably disturb the Ladies and raise their Horror,

Horror, he recall'd the *Persian*, and sent a *Greek* with an Interpreter: This good Breeding, this Tenderneſs towards diſtreſſed Maſteſty, is a more immortal Trophy of Renown to his Memory, than having conquer'd ſo many Millions, than having pulled down the mighty Empire founded by *Cyrus*, than marching from the Banks of the *Thracian Boſphorus* into the Bowels of *India*, and ſailing in Triumph to the Mouth of the *Ganges*.

UPON this Meſſage, the King found himſelf in Circumſtances, which made it no longer diſputable, whether he ſhould retire, or no, eſpecially after the ill Uſage of my Lord *Feverſham*, who was put under an Arreſt, contrary to the Law of Nations, when as an Ambaſſador he brought a Compliment from the King to invite the Prince of *Orange* to *St. James's*. The Reader may have the Curioſity to know what was the Pretence for this indecent Behaviour towards the King. My Lord *Feverſham* being General, had preſumed ſome few Days before, without Leave from the *Dutch*, by King *James's* Command to diſband King *James's* Army. After this, he juſtly apprehended that for the future no more Regard would be ſhewn to his Perſon, than Authority and Character; upon this Conſideration, his Enemies having
ing

ing taken upon them Acts of Regality, after having in vain offer'd to put himself, first into the Hands of the City, and afterwards the Bishops, but rejected by both, he rather chose *Rocheſter* than *Ham*, which was one of the Places appointed for his Residence. He was carried down the River in a very tempeſtuous Day, not without ſome Danger; and while the poor old King was thus expoſed to the Mercy of the Elements, and an actual Priſoner under a Guard of *Dutchmen*, that very Moment, his Daughter *Denmark*, with her great Favourite, both covered with *Orange Ribbons*, in her Father's own Coaches, and attended by his Guards, went triumphant to the *Play-Houſe*. When all Bounds of common Decency are thus unneceſſarily exceeded, ſuch a Conduct muſt in the main proceed from a want of good Senſe.

FROM *Rocheſter*, ſoon after, he made his Escape into *France*, by the Connivance of thoſe who thought it as much their Inter-eſt he ſhould be gone, as he apprehended it inconfiſtent with his Safety to ſtay: Thus inauſpiciouſly ended the Reign of *James* the ſecond, too good a Man, to make what *Matchiavel* and the World generally call a wiſe Prince; however, it is certain, if he had been of any other Religion,

Religion, but what he profess'd, or rather none at all, he would have been at least as happy in this World, as some others, whatever might have become of him in the next.

Quem pœnitet peccasse, penè est innocens.

SEN.



THE



T H E
P O S T S C R I P T .

London, April 20. 1722.



O N G since the writing of
 these Reflections, there has
 appeared in the World a ce-
 lebrated History of the long
 Rebellion, written by my
 Lord Clarendon, in which that Author has
 done great Injury to the Royal Cause, as
 well as the King his Master, by his Par-
 tiality to his Enemies and Injustice to his
 Friends, even his most gallant and most
 faithful Servants, some of whose Charac-
 ters he has treated with the last Disinge-
 nuity : It is not impossible, but the World
 may be set right in Time as to some of
 those Matters, if it were only to take
 away

away a Handle from some Anniversary Preachers on the 30th of *January*, who, when they would palliate the Rebellion, excuse the Parricides, and soften the Atrocity of the Fact, always in their Justification appeal to the Noble Historian.

WHAT Opinion the renown'd General *Monk* had of this Noble Historian, the following *Anecdote* will satisfy the World; when Sir *John Granvill*, afterwards Earl of *Bath*, came from the King to the General, he brought him a Blank to put down his own Conditions; which he generously refus'd, declaring he would make no Bargain with his Prince. After they had settled the Affair, and Sir *John* was going away, the General called him back, and told him, Cousin, I must break my Word, I promis'd I would make no Bargain with the King, but I must oblige him to one Condition, to keep what has pass'd a Secret, and especially from two Persons, who, of all Mankind, must be the last who know it; and then nam'd Sir *Edward Hyde*, and another Great Man, whom there is no Necessity to mention.

BUT this is certain, and known to all, who are never so little acquainted with the History of those Times, that the King's Affairs in the West were in the most flourishing Condition, when this great Historian

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was sent down to superintend ; but, by what Fatality I know not, Mr. *Hyde* was no sooner arrived in those Parts, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer set them all together by the Ears, unravel'd their Schemes, broke all their Measures, and, in short, ruin'd the Royal Interest in that Part of the Kingdom, which ended in the final Destruction of the King.

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E R R A T A.

Page 215. l. 10. for gave read give ; p. 295. l. 1. for was read were ; p. 319. l. 8. for of read on ; p. 348. l. 15. for Accident read Incident.



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Higgons, Bevil

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